New Republic

MARCH 14, 1949

- **SMALL KOREA IS A BIG TEST** By J. P. BRINTON III
- **A SWEDISH VIEW OF THE PACT** By GUNNAR FAGRELL
- **CONQUERING MALARIA** By BRUCE BLIVEN
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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THE North Atlantic Pact is being rushed through here against a background of switches in the Russian foreign service. Vishinsky replaces Molotov, Menshikov replaces Mikoyan, but Molotov and Mikoyan retain posts in the all-powerful Politburo. If this alters the cold war, there's no evidence of it yet. Our guess is that the Senate will enact the pact with a whoop and holler, will approve European recovery funds plus $1 billion or more for overseas military aid, and then conclude that domestic business is too nervous just now to stand higher taxes to meet the bill. This, of course, means deficit financing.

The Treasury postulates a balanced budget through higher taxes plus another boom like 1948. The next fiscal year could be prosperous even at 10 percent below the fabulous 1948, but that would put a crimp in the Treasury's income. Economies won't balance the budget either, for the inescapable fact is that 76 percent of the money spent next year will be for wars past, present and future, plus foreign aid.

The GOP deserves a word in this situation. For 50 years it has preached "sound" finance and attacked the Democrats as reckless. Yet last year the GOP stultified its record by passing a thrice-vetoed political tax bill just when every canon of conservative fiscal management cried for more debt reduction. Now the GOP House Policy Committee is at it again, demanding a new $800 million tax cut. All this time the business community, which thundered against deficits in the thirties, remained silent. The formula is simple: no taxes plus cold war equals Treasury deficit. The Reds are taking us into the red.

President Truman is down in the Florida sunshine. At a press conference before departing, he calmly made one of the most stunning declarations this column has ever heard from a President: In the heat of the filibuster fight, ex-Senator Truman said he favored a simple majority vote for applying Senate cloture to a filibuster. This reasonable pronouncement curdles the blood of a Southerner, or for that matter a small-state Senator. Under America's fantastic rotten-borough system, Nevada, for example, with 110,000 people, has the same Senate representation as New York, 125 times as big. The filibuster implements this advantage. Truman's proposal would alter the Senate's place in the whole governmental system.

Nobody could know better than Truman how this statement would rankle in the Senate. Even his lieutenants in the Upper House do not hope for more than an amended two-thirds-majority cloture rule and are doubtful if they can get that.

Truman is going right down the line. He is not wooing Congress by conciliatory methods; he is staking his Administration on his ability to appeal to the people. Some people might call this reckless, and maybe it is. Certainly it is unusual in the Washington scene. It makes for political realism and honesty. We begin to think that something new is shaping up here in the relationship between the President and Congress. And if the 1948 Truman mandate is flouted, everyone will know just where the responsibility lies.

The tragedy in the Senate filibuster fight, as we see it, is the example it gives of how slow progress is in reforming the awkward American governmental system. Here the battle is not over whether some new reform will be achieved but rather whether a reform supposed to have been enacted a third of a century ago shall be validated. In 1917 the Senate voted 76 to 3 for a method of shutting off de-

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"The best check-up on worldwide Soviet Policy is to be found in 'Outside America,' one of the *New Republic's* features."*

—Rodney Gilbert
New York Herald Tribune
February 13, 1949

*Read it *EVERY WEEK!*

bate by a two-thirds majority. Everyone hailed it as a great reform. Since then, however, loopholes have invalidated the procedure and in effect there is today no cloture at all.

Republicans were upset at the way the Senate Labor Committee finally ended hearings and reported out the Administration's Taft-Hartley repealer without GOP amendments. It was known from the first, however, that the real battle would come on the Senate floor. This issue is likely to strengthen the interrupted romance between the flirtatious Taft Republicans and the coy Southern Democrats. Senator Wayne Morse (R, Ore.) is in the key strategic position to work out the almost inevitable compromise. The T-H Act has not been as injurious to trade unions as was feared, chiefly because high prosperity prevailed. It would spell disaster for labor in a depression. It has virtually blocked AFL and CIO organizational efforts in the South. Against this disadvantage it has made US labor more politically conscious than any prior event in history.

Notes. The 80th Congress failed to sign the international wheat agreement guaranteeing foreign markets at $2 a bushel. Now American farmers will be lucky to get $1.75 a bushel in the current 50-nation wheat conference here. . . . A storm is brewing in Washington's venerable and respected Cosmos Club over the exclusion of certain New Dealers and Administration economists. . . . Some of the men suggested for the new executive of the Committee for Economic Development, hitherto liberal, indicate a move toward the reactionary NAM. . . . The price of ham and eggs is coming down, that of lead, zinc and other metals going up —which shows that deflation and inflation are both at work. . . . We had to laugh at Walter Lippmann's argument last week that filibusters protect Southern "minorities." How about Negro minorities? . . . Net 1948 earnings of 2,100 leading firms, the National City Bank reports, were 20 percent over 1947.

Washington T. R. B.

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VOLUME 120, NUMBER 11, ISSUE 1789, NEW YORK CITY, MARCH 14, 1949 **New Republic**

THE ADMINISTRATION MUST FIGHT

REGARDLESS of which side wins out in the current Senate strife, the issue that has been joined will continue to dominate the 81st Congress and perhaps the politics of the next several years. As this is written, even the immediate contest is undecided. If the Southerners are able to muster enough Republican support to prevent Administration reform of the rule for closing debate, reaction will be more likely to wreck a large part of the Truman program. Even if the present filibuster is smashed and the official Hayden-Wherry resolution to tighten the present cloture rule is passed, the filibuster situation will remain virtually the same.

In declaring his personal support for the right to invoke cloture by a simple majority vote, President Truman has, although perhaps too late, pointed out the practical course. Most of organized labor and the progressive elements in the Democratic Party were similarly tardy in reaching this conclusion. Now, finally, most of the political-action groups on the Left have lined up behind the majority-rule principle. But valuable weeks, which should have gone into organizing local pressures for a majority-cloture bill, have been lost while the liberal lobbies delayed the decision to put constitutional liberties ahead of their own special interests. Now the CIO, the AFL, consumer, housing and other groups seem finally to be drawing together to face the civil-rights fight first.

In this case at least the Administration can be said to have clean hands. There are no double intentions hidden in the Truman strategy. The key Administration leaders in the Senate have gone on record for limiting debate by a constitutional majority (49 members). And almost the full complement of Northern Democrats was behind the official cloture-reform bill (by a two-thirds vote) from the beginning.

The Republican record is far from clear. The Senate GOP Policy Committee refused to take a position on whether or not Republican Senators should vote to bring about an immediate showdown on civil rights. Although he declared that in view of his past record he could not fail to vote against the Southerners in the first test on this issue, Senator Taft has refrained, with unaccustomed modesty, from urging others to follow his lead. Senator Vandenberg has publicly taken the lofty position that the outcome should not be a popularity contest between himself and Vice President Barkley (the test coming on whether to sustain a ruling by Barkley which would reverse the ruling made by Vandenberg as president of the Senate last year).

But Vandenberg has been working busily behind the scenes lining up votes to vindicate his original decision. The moral position of the Republican Party in this fight to clear the way for passage of civil-rights legislation is open to grave question.

Regardless of the first-round outcome, the trend will be toward strengthening and tightening the right-wing GOP-Dixiecrat alliance. Long-range plans must be made to cope with this reactionary bloc. The Administration should exert every effort to broaden suffrage in the South sufficiently in the next two elections to make it possible for progressive Southerners in this Congress to vote their honest convictions and be returned to their seats. If federal officials diligently enforce the rights which Negroes now have to register and vote, Negro voting in the Southern states can increase from the 800,000 reached in 1948 to a million and a half to two million by 1950 or 1952. Given this new source of support, and the promise of an ever broadening white electorate, Southern congressmen would have a genuine basis for reconsidering their allegiances.

Meanwhile, real majority rule must be secured in the Senate to check reactionaries. Very few of those who now oppose cloture by majority vote do so sincerely in fear of jeopardizing the right to full and fair debate. If none of the cloture-reform bills thus far proposed meets the honest objections of these few, an alternative solution can easily be devised. Perhaps an extension of the time during which a cloture petition must remain on the table before coming to majority vote is the answer. A seven-day debate, to be divided equally between the two sides, is one suggestion. If such a provision had been in operation in 1946, the cloture petitions on the FEPC and the anti-poll-tax bill would have been adopted, and ample time for full consideration of the question allowed as well.

Some such solution must be found unless the Republocrat coalition is to dominate the 81st Congress.

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THE WEEK

THE CAPTAINS DEPART

Two years ago this month, when the Truman Doctrine was first expounded to Congress, the influence of the military was truly paramount in Washington. It grew in the ensuing months amid nervous rumors of approaching war. But now unmistakable evidence is developing that military prestige has passed its zenith and is beginning to decline.

Among the signs are the resignation of William H. Draper as Undersecretary of the Army and General Lucius D. Clay's announcement that he too will retire soon, which should precipitate a good many personnel changes in the Department of the Army and the occupation administration. Between them, Clay and Draper have managed to keep our German policy almost entirely in military hands, leaving the State Department and other civilian agencies on the periphery. Their departure may mean a slow change in German policy, and a gradual shift to civilian control.

The President accepted Draper's resignation with relief because he has been such an articulate, aggressive exponent of the rebuild-Germany idea, a concept which is getting less favor in the White House at present. The President's attitude toward General Clay's retirement is ambivalent because of the difficulty in replacing him.

It is Truman himself who has reversed the tide of military influence in government and turned toward civilians. Two of the principal advisers of the Truman Doctrine era, General Marshall and Admiral Leahy, are no longer with him. The President has put the conduct of foreign affairs back in civilian hands. When it came to the crucial matter of how big the total military budget should be this year he took the advice of his civilian economic advisers, not his Joint Chiefs of Staff.

This trend will go even further if the President and Congress follow the recommendations of the Hoover Commission on the reorganization of the executive branch of the government. This, the eighth report sent to Congress by the commission, deals with the national-security agencies and recommends a thorough overhauling of the entire defense establishment. Hoover and his colleagues said that they found "disharmony and lack of unified planning" in the security organization as well as "extravagance in military budgets and waste in military expenditure." They observed that "true national security depends more on economic stability and political strength than upon military power."

Their basic solution is the reëstablishment of civilian control over all the armed services and strategic-planning boards. To do this they would centralize in the Secretary of Defense all of the powers that now reside with the separate services, including even authority over personnel and procurement and, of course, budgets. The three Secretaries—for Army, Navy and Air Force—would come directly under his control and lose their authority to appeal to the President on budgetary matters over the Defense Secretary's head. This would eliminate the three Secretaries from membership on the National Security Council, where in actuality they now can outvote their presumed superior, the Defense Secretary. As things are organized now, the Hoover Commission believes that civilian control of the military services is "a label instead of a reality," that the power of Congress over military appropriations is inadequate to assure civilian control, and that centralized authority for the Defense Secretary is the only solution.

On the subject of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the commission recommended appointment of a chairman to preside over their meetings much in the way General Eisenhower is doing while he is on leave from Columbia University. A majority of the commission thought that such a chairman should be appointed by the Secretary of Defense and be responsible to him and the President. However, Secretary Acheson and three other Commissioners made a dissenting report, holding that Congress should create a single Chief of Staff for all the armed services, a man who would consider their needs and responsibilities in relation to the national strategy in its broadest terms as well as the nation's economy.

The President has indicated that he is not only receptive to most of these ideas but that he also intends to put as many of them into operation as he can without new legislation. The more basic changes will be up to Congress.

FREEDOM AND THE TEACHERS

Since its organization in 1913, the American Association of University Professors has been a tireless protector of academic freedom and tenure in American colleges. As its members met in national convention in Washington last week, the pressure on the organization to change its past policies on such cases was perhaps greater than ever before. Worsening Soviet-American relations and the emergence of the Progressive Party had increased tensions on American campuses. The fact that AAUP membership has grown from 21,000 to 33,000 in the last two years is evidence that faculty members have felt more need of protection.

Recent dismissals of three University of Washington faculty members accused of past or present membership in the Communist Party and the removal in other colleges of eight additional professors who had openly supported presidential candidate Henry A. Wallace, forced the AAUP to decide on its attitude for the future. The formal decision of the thirty-fifth convention is that it will not give ground.

Any attempt to subject teachers to civil limitations not imposed upon

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other citizens is a threat against the academic profession, the Association again stated. "We cannot remind ourselves too often," said W. T. Laprade, professor of history at Duke University and chairman of the Academic Freedom Committee, "that the dismissal of a teacher for cause is a serious step, damaging a reputation acquired at considerable cost both to the person involved and to society." The Association, he said, will continue to defend the exercise of freedom by members of the profession when it is challenged, even though the speakers or writers favor unpopular views held by a small minority.

Laprade's report mentioned no names of professors, but said the committee had been studying the dismissal of the eight professors who supported Wallace. "More than one college administration," the report said, "finding such men on its staff, admonished them that their activity in behalf of Mr. Wallace was an embarrassment to the institution and would damage its reputation among its patrons and supporters." When a college begins to yield its functions as a guardian of freedom for reasons of local support, the report emphasizes, it curtails its capacity to foster the search for truth. "In a time of justifiable fears and of widespread uncertainty concerning the future," the report said, "there is a natural inclination among many to rally about the familiar and to claim that it is not open to question. But this is to reduce learning to dogmatism and in the end to alienate the sympathy of inquiring youth. If freedom is to be preserved, our colleges and universities must guard zealously their positions as its chief citadels."

The AAUP passed a resolution defending the right of teachers to accept or discard scientific theories championed by some governments. (Again no names were mentioned, but the resolution was regarded as referring to the recent dismissal of an Oregon State University chemistry professor for supporting the Russian Communist Lysenko's theory of genetics.)

During the past year, the committee dealt with 86 cases of academic freedom and tenure, 30 of which were withdrawn or closed after investigation. If violations of academic freedom continue to increase, individual professors, or the AAUP in their behalf, may seek a Supreme Court decision on the right of colleges to fire for political beliefs.

TOBIN APPOINTS A FRIEND

Secretary of Labor Maurice Tobin's selection of an undistinguished fellow Bostonian to be his Undersecretary may cause acute embarrassment to the Administration as well as to Tobin personally. One of the sins of which President Truman accused the Republicans most vigorously during the campaign was that the iniquitous 80th Congress had stripped the Department of Labor of its powers and enfeebled it by withholding appropriations. He swore that under a new Truman Administration the Department would be rebuilt into the important agency the times demand.

Secretary Tobin proved, during the campaign, that he is an able stump speaker. He has not had time to prove his abilities as a labor statesman. If the Administration's proposal to regroup all government labor services inside the Department is carried out, the job of Undersecretary of Labor, under a cabinet officer as inexperienced as Secretary Tobin, will necessarily be a highly responsible one. Acting Undersecretary John Gibson, who was in fact Secretary during most of last year, would have been an excellent choice for the permanent appointment. When the AFL vetoed the White House's suggestion of Gibson on the ground that he was a member of the CIO, several other highly qualified and eligible men were proposed.

Without consulting any branches of organized labor or Administration leaders in the Labor Committees of Congress, Secretary Tobin took advantage of weekend quiet at the White House to slip through the appointment of Michael Joseph Galvin, Boston corporation lawyer, to the undersecretaryship. Presidential Assistant John Steelman, through whose hands the appointment passed in the White House, did not flag the selection as doubtful or direct it to the special attention of Truman, as was his duty under the circumstances. The supposition is that Steelman, who regards labor as his own domain, was not unhappy to see Tobin digging such a pit for himself.

All branches of labor are angry at this appointment and at Tobin for perpetrating it. Nothing is known of Galvin except that he is a personal friend of Tobin, knows the corporation side of the labor-management story, and has been an enthusiastic public speaker for the Greater Boston Community Fund. Democratic as well as Republican members of the Senate Labor Committee plan to demand more substantiating material when Galvin comes up for confirmation. Some usually loyal Administration men are saying that it might be advisable to force the withdrawal of the nomination now.

THE DOCTORS' PRESS AGENT

SAN FRANCISCO (NR correspondent)

If West Coast advertising men know what is going on in their own business, the first $1 million in $25-per-doctor assessments now being raised by the AMA to fight health insurance will go to "Campaigns, Inc." Operating under this title, Clem Whitaker and his wife, Cleone Baxter, among the highest-paid press propagandists in West Coast advertising, have made a big-time reputation for past campaigns against labor, public power and federal control of tidelands oil.

During the past 15 years, the firm handled 65 separate campaigns, usually running five or six major jobs at the same time. When the AMA originally invited Whitaker to take over its public-relations campaign, so the story here goes, he wasn't particularly interested since "Campaigns, Inc.," has been a most profitable concern. But the AMA met his price—somewhere in the neighborhood of $1 million, with an added allowance to hire a $50,000-a-year man to set up an office in Chicago—and Whitaker accepted.

His new job is not his first experi-

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ence with organized medicine. When the California Medical Association called on him to help them oppose Governor Warren's proposed plan for statewide compulsory health insurance four years ago, Whitaker pulled out the stops with cries of "socialized medicine" and counter-attacked with the old-line voluntary insurance program.

Warren's plan was soon forgotten and high-cost medical care still has no competition in California. Today Whitaker is hoping for similar success with his latest brainster—the AMA's 12-point program to counteract President Truman's health-insurance measure introduced in Congress by Senator James Murray (D, Mont.) and Representative John Dingell (D, Mich.). "We believe," Whitaker says, "that anything the government can do for the people, the people can do better for themselves; and we propose to bring the California Voluntary Health Insurance program into every state in the union."

THE BASIC ECONOMIC POLICY

President Truman's program to control inflation and provide full employment and production has cleared the first hurdle. The majority report which Congress has just received from its Joint Economic Committee firmly supports the President's recommendations on economic policy at every point. The report states that talk of depression or recession at this time is nonsense. After listening to extensive testimony from nearly 40 witnesses representing every group in the economy, the committee majority is convinced that the Council of Economic Advisers was right in telling the President that inflation is still very much of a menace.

The Joint Economic Committee was created under the terms of the Employment Act of 1946 to review the Economic Report the President is required to submit to Congress at the beginning of each session, and to give its own views of the President's recommendations for legislative action. When Senator Robert A. Taft (R, Ohio) served as chairman of this committee in the Republican 80th Congress, the group disregarded its responsibility under the law. This year the Employment Act for the first time is operating as its authors intended. The report which Chairman O'Mahoney (D, Wyo.) has brought in for the majority of his committee will now serve as the basic economic policy of the Administration to be carried out through the congressional standing committees.

The record employment, production and purchasing we are now enjoying can be maintained, the Economic Report says, only if we have government planning. National production levels this year are not likely to fall more than five to ten percent below those of 1948. The big job ahead is to make adequate plans for taking up the slack that will follow the end of the Marshall Plan and present heavy military expenditures.

Obviously, taxes "from corporate profits and the upper income brackets must be increased," the O'Mahoney report goes on. "Even if as much as $4 billion were taken entirely from corporate profits, they could be left at a level at least as high as the profit figures in 1947 and far above those in 1946."

Prices of materials most in use in the preparedness program will not fall, but will rise even higher this coming year, the committee foresees, unless something is done to eliminate shortages, particularly of metals and metal products. Even within its present limits, the inflationary effects of our expanded national-security program "have in no wise been fully experienced" yet.

Shortages of "basic plant capacity in steel, ferro-alloys, non-ferrous metals, nitrogenous materials, electric power and power-generating equipment" will continue to exist as long as

"Where do you-all get that 'we-all' stuff?"

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profits are allowed to decide our requirements for economic preparedness. There must be mandatory allocations of critical materials and stand-by authority to control prices and provide some relief to the more than 16 million families earning less than $2,000 a year.

"Palliatives," in the form of increases in old-age and survivors' insurance, public assistance and minimum wages, are obviously necessary, the committee states. But the authority which President Truman requested to maintain full production, by supplying additional plant capacities or by other hitherto unused means, comes closer to the heart of the problem, Senator O'Mahoney's group believes:

> The question of getting the "right" amount of investment in the "right" industries has no connection with gloomy or rosy forecasts of deflation and inflation, but depends on reasonable production goals and objectives, both for individual industries and for the economy as a whole, which ensure full and balanced utilization of natural and human resources. The appearance of "soft spots" or so-called surpluses at present, may . . . be due to bottlenecks or shortages in capacity. . . .

We must set national goals "for development of power, aluminum, and other natural resources," in addition to enacting better legislation to ensure wise cutting of timber, protection of the public range lands and improvement of conservation practices.

In cautious language, carefully designed to avoid any appearance of infringing on the preserves of the regular committees dealing with the subjects covered, the Joint Congressional Committee has delivered an unqualified endorsement of Truman's economic proposals, with no apparent signs of choking even on the highly controversial matter of government authority to increase production. Senator Flanders (R, Vt.) and Representative Herter (R, Mass.), usually regarded as "liberal" Republicans, brought in a brief minority report of their own, which in effect said: We agree with almost all the majority statements but for political reasons we feel compelled to enter a small dissent. They are not expected to vote against many parts of the Administration program when the roll calls come, however. Senator Taft and Representative Wolcott (R, Mich.), for considerably more basic reasons, are preparing a separate minority report of their own which will set the policy for the regular GOP group to follow in the legislative battle to come.

The Democrats who signed the Economic Report (Senators O'Mahoney, Wyo.; Myers, Pa.; Sparkman, Ala.; Douglas, Ill.; and Representatives Patman, Tex.; Hart, N. J.; and Buchanan, Pa.), with the exception of O'Mahoney, are not the men who chair the key committees which will act on the President's proposals. But such a show of solid support from this group of economic policy makers will doubtless improve the program's chances for passage.

IMMIGRATION REFORM

After 25 years and two wars during which Japanese-Americans proved their loyalty, a bill lifting the ban on immigration quotas available to Asiatic and Pacific peoples has passed the House and gone to the Senate for approval. The proposed act is not generous. It would limit the annual number of immigrants allowed from the Far East to less than one percent of total authorized immigration.

Introduced by Representative Walter Judd (R, Minn.), the bill primarily affects Japanese, Koreans and Polynesians, but sets a general pattern for eliminating racial discrimination in all immigration and naturalization regulations. Originally, when Congress was empowered to decide who is eligible for American citizenship, it limited the privilege to "free, white" persons. After the Civil War African Negroes became eligible. In 1940 Western Hemisphere Indians were added, and three years later the Chinese were made eligible. The last group to be included, in 1946, were natives of the Philippines and the East Indies.

The immediate effect of Judd's bill would be to make eligible for naturalization many legal residents of this country formerly disenfranchised because of race. Many have lived in the United States for 25 or 35 years; according to the 1940 census, there were 84,658 aliens of Japanese descent, 3,139 Koreans and 145 Polynesians and other Asiatics resident in this country or one of its territories.

The subcommittee on immigration of the House Judiciary Committee, which sent the Judd bill to the floor for the first time, will have its courage tested again almost immediately as hearings begin on revising the discriminatory Displaced Persons Act passed by the 80th Congress.

EVEN MORE ANTI-WESTERN

Whatever else the shift in personalities in the political high command of the Soviet Union may mean, it certainly suggests that the men in the Kremlin have felt and acted on a need for a change in major policy—in the relationship with the West. Vyacheslav Molotov is one of the last remaining stalwarts of the "old Bolsheviks" and also one of the most anti-Western men in the whole Soviet governmental machine. Andrei Y. Vishinsky, a one-time Menshevik, is by contrast a second-rate figure, a man who carries out, rather than makes, policy. Does the replacement of the one by the other mean a change in *direction* of policy, or on the other hand a change in the *intensity* and *tempo* of policy?

All signs now point to the second hypothesis. It appears (in the absence of any useful hints from our political intelligence services, which once again were caught napping) that Molotov has been moved up rather than down, closer to the dictatorial throne of Joseph Stalin of which he has long seemed the most likely inheritor. It also appears that his promotion to a place where he can devote himself exclusively to making policy amounts to the climax of the Soviet offensive counterattack on the West which began last autumn. The East is now going to be even more anti-Western, and by new means. Supporting this view is the promotion of Andrei A. Gromyko, the man who won his spurs at the UN by saying "No" to the West.

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

The Kremlin's propaganda offensive against the North Atlantic Pact differs in degree—in intensity and violence—from the one launched in the Western European nations during the early days of the Marshall Plan. The purpose, however, is the same: it is to cripple a major enterprise of the West in the cold war against the East.

By now, nearly all the important Communist leaders of Western Europe have gone publicly on record as warning that in the event of a shooting war between West and East, Western European fifth columns would operate on behalf of the Soviet military forces. This has been said or implied in one way or another by Maurice Thorez in France, Palmiro Togliatti in Italy, Otto Grotewohl and Wilhelm Pieck in Germany. Moreover, the same spokesmen for the Kremlin have brought out *into the open what was previously* only suspected—that as Western military preparedness stepped up, the Communist *apparat* in every Western European country would increasingly become an instrument for "legal" sabotage; and the leverage for the use of this instrument would be Communist control of the mass labor movements.

Nevertheless, there is also a difference of kind between this offensive and the one against the Marshall Plan: it seems plain that the Communists are so fearful of the progress being made in military preparedness that they are deliberately trying to get themselves forced underground; while stepping up their "legal" sabotage, they are also creating the conditions for illegality. Writes C. L. Sulzberger, chief of foreign correspondents of the New York *Times*:

> It is the view of level-headed observers that this new and crystallizing strategy for French and Western Communism in no way means that Moscow is preparing for imminent war. It is felt, however, that it means that the anxious Kremlin wishes to sabotage the strengthening Western coalition by growing strike action and to precipitate drastic government moves against Communism to keep trouble boiling. . . . It is believed, too, by some observers that Thorez also is seeking to force the hand of the government to take drastic action against the Communist Party through such means as would necessitate cleaning up the factories and arsenals, which might in turn lead to widespread civil strife.

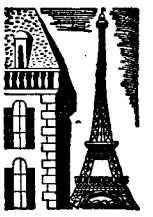
One of the keys to the situation therefore is the need to find means of "cleaning up" the factories, short of those that would lead to "widespread civil strife." In the New York *Herald Tribune,* Joseph Alsop writes:

> Although the major Communist danger has passed, Western Europe will never be restored to full political health as long as the Communist Parties control the labor movement. . . . During the next year or two, the non-Communist groups will have an excellent chance to capture the French and Italian labor movements from the Communists, provided one condition is fulfilled. . . . The whole task of rebuilding a healthy non-Communist Left in Europe will be brusquely halted if America meanwhile stands forward as the champion of European reaction. In our own hard-headed interests, America must appear as the enemy of European reaction. And we must do so even if this means championing social and economic measures which are not contemplated and may even seem abhorrent in our own comfortable country.

No American progressives with intimate knowledge of Western Europe can deny the justice of these observations, though some may not share his optimism about the excellence of the chance the non-Communist groups have of capturing the Italian and French labor movements during the next year or two.

The paramount questions seem to be: Can the American forces, not so much of reaction as of blindness or shortsightedness, be overcome quickly enough? Will there then be time enough? Indeed is it not already too late for specifically political methods to be effective? After all, the lip service America has given to the ideal of a brave new world has been nullified at least in part by the effective help it has given to a craven, corrupt, crooked old world, as in China, Greece, Turkey, Spain and elsewhere.

Already Western Europeans of the non-Fascist extreme Right are joining (for reasons quite different from the Communist ones) the Kremlin-ordered assault on the North Atlantic Pact. And although the Church of Rome has since the Mindszenty affair openly entered the political lists as a political militant on the side of the West, some of these rightist doubters are prominent Catholics. These include men like François Mauriac, one of the two greatest living French novelists. They also include Etienne Gilson, world famous as a Catholic philosopher and historian who has traveled widely in the United States and been a professor at Harvard.



The conservative Paris newspaper *Le Monde* devoted a large part of its first page one day last week to an article by Professor Gilson attacking the North Atlantic Pact in language as extreme as that used by his political enemy, Thorez. The argument was that Europe would be safer if it remained neutral than if it accepted what was called the illusory protection of the pact. Underlying this argument was the assumption (very widely held in Western Europe's non-Communist intellectual circles) that the safety of Europe and the safety of the United States, while connected, are not necessarily identical; and that the United States, though talking about protecting Europe, is in fact concerned with creating a "buffer continent" for its own safety.

The French government has indicated that it may bring charges of treason against government officials

Harry Dix does the drawings which are a regular feature of "Outside America."

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and army officers who seem to be following the Thorez line of all-out opposition to the pact. But it is inconceivable that any charges could or would be made against Gilson and other men of the Right, though the end product of their thinking, so far as the pact is concerned, coincides with that of Thorez.

In the face of this paradox, it might be well for progressive Americans to note that in Western Europe there are neutrals in the cold war—both on the non-Communist Left and on the Right. Of course, these men realize that they and the Americans have much in common, that they share with the Americans the strongest opposition to Soviet domination of Western Europe. But this is a coincidence, not an identity of views, and it suggests the need for a reëxamination of the oversimplified assumptions that lie behind the present American *methods* of saving the world for democracy. For Western European leftists are doubtful about American professions of liberalism; Western European rightists are not all convinced that American militarists are not ready to have the Eagle scream over their dead bodies, their ruined cities and gutted cathedrals.

★

From Tokyo comes word to the New York *Times* that General Douglas MacArthur twice in the last year "saved" Japan from the Communists. "Documents recently made available" to the newspaper's Burton Crane convinced him that had it not been for the supreme commander's daring and opportune steps last July and again last November, the Communists might have carried out a diabolical scheme to form a Soviet "people's government." These two steps were the prohibition of strikes among government workers and an announcement that minority groups wouldn't be allowed to interfere with economic recovery.

You might think the Japanese would be grateful to the great general and to the government he has saved from the red devils; at least you might expect that they would be thinking and talking about little else. But you'd be wrong. Another *Times* correspondent in Tokyo, Lindesay Parrott, says they have other things to worry about: they're up in arms against increased taxes on players of the games of *shogi* and *go*, on story tellers, flower arrangers, fan painters, public letter writers and, worst of all, on the huge *sumo* wrestlers. It's all very well to save Japan from the Reds, but not at the cost of taxes that may prevent the *sumo* wrestlers from maintaining the weight of 300 pounds they need to put on a good show. *Panem et circenses* translates into Japanese too.

★

In London the police not only allowed Sir Oswald Mosley's Fascist followers to stage a military march through streets of the East End in protest against acts of the Labor Government; they supplied a large escort of mounted and foot police. Led by a man banging a big drum, 200 of the British anti-Communists proceeded in columns of threes, singing to the tune of the Nazi "Horst Wessel" song. The Manchester *Guardian* described the effect:

> There were no incidents, and sightseers who crowded doorways and windows seemed only mildly interested in the chanting, yelling marchers who included about 25 women, among them several smartly dressed girls.

In Milan, however, the police refused to permit Partisans to march in protest against the release in Rome of the notorious Fascist, Prince Valerio Borghese. The Communist Partisans tried nevertheless to parade to the monument of a local hero of the Resistance. Police barred their way. A fight started. Partisans threw stones. Police used clubs. Caribineers were called. A battle raged for hours through the streets. "Thousands of revelers participating in the celebration of the pre-Lenten carnival," says the New York *Times*, "were caught in the disturbances." Tear-gas bombs were thrown, machine guns fired. Many innocent bystanders were injured.

Perhaps it would be a good thing if Italy's Mario Scelba, who runs the police, imitated Scotland Yard instead of following in the footsteps of his black-shirted predecessor as Minister of the Interior.

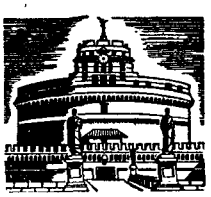
★

The Czechoslovak Communist Party held an anniversary rally in the National Theatre in Prague. When President Klement Gottwald passed to the stage from his box, an official announced through a loudspeaker, "The iron curtain is rising." He meant a fireproof curtain of iron suspended between the auditorium and platform. But it would be pleasant if the Soviets made the shift—used the iron in theatres and changed the Iron Curtain into asbestos.

★

When Leghorn first saw the American soldiers, they were hailed as liberators. When the American soldiers left the war-ruined Italian port in 1947, crowds of Leftist Partisan youths rounded up young women who had lived with the Americans, cut off their hair and drove them naked through the streets.

In a court in Florence last week fifteen Leghorn women brought suit against a group of Leghorn men. The charge was that the men had abused the women a few hours after the American soldiers left because "they had lived with the Americans and dishonored the town." The court wasn't called upon to decide if this had taken place—there were many witnesses. The point at issue was who was dishonorable—the women or the men? Nor was the court called upon to decide why there had been a delay in bringing the charge—the cold war had changed political temperatures, and in the Italy of 1949 the Americans are again what they were in 1944, not in 1947. P. W.



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A SWEDISH VIEW OF THE PACT

Some Swedes accuse the U. S. of using aggressive, high-pressure tactics to force the North Atlantic Pact on Scandinavia

by Gunnar Fagrell

With the article below we continue our series on important questions raised by the proposed North Atlantic Pact. In the NR *of February 14, Captain B. H. Liddell Hart discussed the military defense of Western Europe. In our February 21 issue Blair Bolles attacked the pact on the ground that it would not serve to protect peace. In this issue Gunnar Fagrell, well-known Swedish journalist, speaks for certain sections of public opinion in Scandinavia.* — THE EDITORS

STOCKHOLM

WHEN THE United States and other Western countries decided to make the attempt to bring Scandinavia into the North Atlantic Pact, they were faced with a difficult tactical problem. There is little doubt that from a military point of view Sweden is the most valuable of the three Scandinavian countries. She has a considerable army, well-equipped and well-trained. She has a small but efficient air force. She has a navy that could play an important part in the Baltic. And she has highly developed industries.

Norway, on the other hand, is in the most dangerous position, strategically. Her harbors dominate the North Atlantic. So far, however, Norway has been unable to build up a military machine of importance.

Denmark came into the discussions, not for military reasons, but because she has strong ties with the other Scandinavian countries. No one of them had any serious animosity toward the Soviet Union, except on ideological grounds. Northern Norway was liberated by Russian troops, whose behavior was good. Bornholm was occupied by the Soviet Union, which withdrew its troops in a surprisingly short time. A friendly agreement was reached between Norway and the Soviet Union over Spitsbergen. Next-door-neighbor Finland seemed to get along fairly well with the Russian Bear, and there was little to indicate that any storm was approachng.

It apparently would take some persuasion to get Scandinavia into a bloc openly hostile to the Soviet Union. The Western powers decided to work on them one by one. Norway's Foreign Minister, Halvard Lange, was not unwilling to take on the responsibility of opening negotiations in Scandinavia. He made a good case. Norway is completely dependent on her overseas shipping. During the war Norway had fought side by side with the Western allies even in the days of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. Divorced from Sweden and made completely independent as late as 1905, Norway was naturally tempted to take the lead in Scandinavian foreign affairs, to become the link between that part of Europe and the rest of the Western world. Regardless of what arguments were used, it obviously took little effort to engage Lange for the task of persuading the other Scandinavian countries to join the pact.

Thus Lange started his conversations with his two Scandinavian colleagues with far-reaching commitments to the West. He did not come to consider the case; he came to argue it. Without any authority to conclude any pacts whatsoever, the US State Department had held out possibilities that proved tempting enough to split the Scandinavian statesmen into three groups, with the Norwegians for, the Swedes against, and the Danes reluctant, undecided and generally hoping for the best. Lange was strongly supported by most political groups to the Right of labor, vigorously opposed by the Communists and gravely criticized by strong groups in his own party. He enjoyed full support from Norway's leading labor newspaper, *Arbeiderbladet*, which made his position appear stronger than it actually is. Prime Minister Einar Gerhardsen—who spent the war years not among US and British diplomats but in a German concentration camp—was unwilling to accept Lange's line, but is under pressure from the parliamentary group of the Labor Party, which obviously favors the North Atlantic Pact.

The test of Sweden's attitude came with the elections in September. Despite considerable belligerent opposition in the papers of the Center (Folkpartiet), all political parties decided to support the neutral line suggested by mild-mannered but firm Foreign Minister Osten Unden. The Farmers Party (Bondeforbundet) was unwilling even to discuss an alliance, but among the others the feeling grew that perhaps a Scandinavian alliance would be acceptable as a substitute for the dangerous and provocative North Atlantic Pact. They argued that a neutral north would do nobody any harm, and that a coördinated defense would be strong enough to keep any aggressor out, provided some material—mainly radar—could be supplied from the outside.

In view of Sweden's complete refusal to join in any big-power bloc, Denmark's career diplomat, Foreign Minister Gustav Rasmussen, supported by his Prime Minister Hans Hedtoft, felt at first that the situation was too confused for a clear-cut Danish statement of policy. He too believed that a Scandinavian alliance might be enough to satisfy the mighty US State Department. It was decided that the general staffs of the three countries should try to work out a plan for coordinated defense to be put forward in early February. Although hard-pressed by strong groups in his own party, Lange made it clear that he would stick to his guns and insist on Norway's joining the North Atlantic Pact under all circumstances. Unden, with complete support of his party and most politicians from other parties, held to his previous line that under no circum-

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stances would Sweden join any bloc.

There is reason to believe that there was very little spirit in the subsequent staff talks. Matters were not helped much by Lange's inability to explain what was expected from the Scandinavian countries in this situation, and what Scandinavia could be expected to get out of the alliance. A stream of arguments came from the United States, which have made it next to impossible to hold an intelligent conversation with any American representative in Stockholm. One and all feel the necessity to "put pressure" on whomever they meet. But they seemed curiously unaware of the fact that German agents a few years earlier had been heavily engaged in the pressure business and that the Swedes were somewhat weary of methods that evoked such unpleasant memories. "Confidential" information was handed out freely, rumors of evil intentions on the part of the Soviet Union were circulated, and US diplomats did not hesitate to attack the Swedish Foreign Office, and particularly its Foreign Minister, in private conversations. The most amazing argument of all, however, was that Scandinavia would "be allowed no arms from the US unless she gives up her neutrality."

To begin with, some Swedish circles listened eagerly to all this. Big business was delighted to have found an ally against the Labor government. They felt comfortable having Uncle Sam right behind them. There were many who had been leaning toward the wrong side during the war and had previously taken a dim view of the future. They were delighted to find that all was forgiven and that the coast was clear for new maneuvers. They had never dreamed that tough Uncle Sam would kiss and make up so quickly. And of course they could be depended upon to fight Communism in any form.

The US diplomats were delighted. Everything went "according to plan." The British, with becoming modesty, kept in the background. Of course they supported the North Atlantic Pact. Who could expect anything else? But

DRAWING BY ARTHUR GETZ

they seemed quite satisfied to hand over the leading part as pressure cooker number one to the counsellor of the US Embassy in Stockholm, Hugh Cumming, formerly head of the Scandinavian desk at the State Department and considered one of its ablest career diplomats. When the new Parliament assembled in January there was the same solid support for the present foreign policy.

There was, however, one exception. The convening of the new Parliament showed many young new members, particularly on the Labor benches. A swing toward more effective collaboration among the Scandinavian countries in every field, including the military one, became increasingly obvious. The leaders of the party felt they could offer Norway and Denmark a little more, should these countries decide to stay out of the Western bloc. Another meeting was called for the end of January, at which Sweden reiterated her determination to stay out of any alliance attached to a big-power bloc, but offered considerable aid to her neighbors. The Swedish delegation went so far as to offer a guarantee to fight at once, should a Scandinavian state be attacked.

To anyone who has studied Sweden's foreign policy over the last hundred years this was an amazing step. It was hard to see how a northern alliance such as that suggested by Sweden could be interpreted as anything but a great sacrifice for peace. Equipped with arms from the US, such a neutral bloc obviously would offer a strong barrier against any military attack on the West that the Soviet Union might consider. It was hard to believe that a peace-seeking US would object to such an arrangement. But it did. To explain such a stand, Swedish students of foreign affairs have reached the conclusion that the US wants the decks cleared for attack on the Soviet Union. Bases in Norway, prepared for American planes, ships and troops, would mean a great advantage were a war of aggression contemplated. Some Swedish newspapers, like *Dagens Nyheter* and *Goteborgs Handelstidning,* have shown satisfaction with the idea of Western support, but in general it is safe to say that nobody in Scandinavia wants to act as vanguard in a war of aggression against the Soviet Union.

Two considerations in connection with the projected North Atlantic Pact have been little publicized but are of some importance. It is scarcely realized how bitter feelings in Denmark are against the US control of Greenland. While the Russians left Bornholm, the Americans decided to stay on in Greenland. And Iceland, after her wartime occupation, would refuse to become a base of operations unless invaded by force. Although Ice-

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land is now separated completely from Denmark, sentimental ties between the two countries are still very strong.

The other consideration is Sweden's old desire to see a free Finland at her side. If the United States plans to build up an airtight bloc against the Soviet Union, on which side would Finland find herself? Obviously nobody is in a position to pull that country out of the Russian sphere of influence. There is a great fear that what happened in Czechoslovakia last year might be duplicated in Finland should a military threat cause the USSR to take bold steps in defense.

To sum up the Scandinavian situation today: It is finally widely realized that Scandinavia is under heavy pressure to join an alliance openly hostile to the Soviet Union. No half-measures will be accepted. It is assumed that a refusal to join would be met by reprisals, primarily in the economic field. What happened to the Czechs is well remembered. On the other hand there is popular reluctance to accept the idea that the US is contemplating a war of aggression. It is generally believed among informed students of international relations that US foreign policy may have moved from the diplomatic to the strategic field, mainly because of the many generals who are now temporarily engaged in helping to make policy. It is thought that a return to more normal conditions may be expected when the new Congress has had time to review its position and the new Secretary of State has been given opportunity to consider his many problems. Despite the widespread propaganda against the Soviet Union, relatively few in Scandinavia believe a Russian attack imminent, or even relatively close.

We may safely say that the present campaign to get Scandinavia into a bloc with obviously strategic purposes has given the United States, in the eyes of the common man, a heavy share of responsibility for any future war. What the long-winded speeches by Vishinsky could never accomplish has been fostered by the clumsy, ill-advised pressure on Scandinavia.

FARM PRICES HOLD THE KEY

The economy of the whole nation depends on maintaining a decent standard of living for the families who raise the food

by Angus McDonald

BUMPER 1948 CROPS and the decline in farm prices, which have the experts talking about possible farm surpluses and "overproduction," are leading toward a real dog fight over national farm policy. The fight concerns the government's farm-price-support measures and the form they should take in 1950.

Farm-price supports for 1949 are already fixed. The government will suport prices of certain basic commodities at 90 percent of "parity" until the end of 1949. However, the Aiken law, which was rushed through the 80th Congress by the Republicans the night before they adjourned to attend the Dewey convention in Philadelphia last summer, provides that price support after 1949 will be on a sliding scale ranging from 60 to 90 percent.

The nation's two largest farm organizations—the Farm Bureau Federation and the National Grange—endorse the lower support rates of the Aiken law. They are backed by the NAM, the Chamber of Commerce and certain economists, who hold that rigid high-support prices will bring about overproduction and bankrupt the government.

However, pressure from the grass roots to retain the present 90-percent rate is growing. Farmers are descending upon Washington to testify. Congressmen from farm states are showing increasing reluctance to allow the lower support rates for 1950 to stand. The chairmen of both the Senate and House committees dealing with farm legislation have promised repeal of the Aiken 60-to-90 scale and continuation of the present flat 90-percent rate.

Present policy concerning farm prices goes back to the early days of the New Deal. During the depression years of 1929 to 1933, farm production dropped only six percent while overall farm prices fell 63 percent. On the other hand, the prices of manufactured goods did not fall nearly so far. In the same period, steel output dropped 83 percent, while prices fell only 20 percent. In automobiles, production was off by 80 percent while car prices fell only 16 percent. Farming, caught in the squeeze, became the nation's number-one depressed industry.

In order to ensure farmers against bumper crops at low prices, and small crops in bad years at prices which didn't cover their costs of production, New Deal farm policy was evolved. "Parity" was a complicated index number based upon farm prices during the years 1909 to 1914. It was modified by the prices of manufactured goods, so that parity rose and fell as the general cost of living fluctuated. Its aim was to provide minimum "floors" for certain farm prices.

When inaugurated, the parity price-support plan covered only six basic commodities: wheat, corn, rice, cotton, peanuts and tobacco. However, in 1941, when the need for increased production to meet war demands was great, other commodities such as eggs, milk, hogs, chickens and potatoes were added to the support list. The percent of parity at which prices of these goods were supported also fluctuated. It was raised to 90 percent to encourage farmers to produce the large crops needed during the war and reconstruction years.

It should be emphasized that price support is primarily a cost-of-living device for the farmer. No general price-support legislation has ever guaranteed him a specific number of dol-

Angus McDonald, assistant legislative secretary for the National Farmers' Union, formerly conducted a farm column in the New Republic.

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lars for a commodity. Consequently, guaranteed prices for farm commodities cannot go up a penny unless industrial prices rise first. Parity is tied to the cost of everything the farmer buys, from bread to machinery. If automobile prices come down 10 percent, then parity prices would automatically be lowered.

It is important, also, to realize that parity prices are floors. Until recently the prices consumers paid were far above the guaranteed prices. Therefore, as long as market prices were substantially above the floor prices, the price-support guarantee had no effect whatsoever on actual prices. It is only when market prices drop to the floor that price support affects the consumer.

During the past twelve months prices have declined until some are more than a third less than they were a year ago. Farmers' costs in general have risen steadily. Since there is a substantial lag in the effect on parity, the farmer has been caught in a scissors movement.

This happens in a period of falling farm prices because at the beginning of the year the farmer plans his crop, invests in fertilizer, machinery, seed, etc., in accordance with existing prices. When he planned his crop in the fall of 1947, he had no way of knowing that wheat would drop from $3 to $2 a bushel in 1948. Consequently, during a period of declining farm prices and more or less rigid or rising farm costs, the farmer gets it in the economic neck.

Under present law, the farmers can count on getting a 90-percent floor price for most 1949 crops. This price, which was worked out in the thirties, is supposed to give the American farmer a "parity" of income with non-farmers. Actually, income calculated at the floor price would not give the farmer and his family anything like the income of a city family. But it is an income which the farmer has accepted as an absolute minimum.

No farm family wants this floor to be a ceiling any more than a city worker wants a minimum wage to be a ceiling. So it is well to bear in mind that 90-percent parity prices are low prices—low in terms of average farm income and low in terms of what the farmer can buy with a bushel of wheat or any other product he raises. Even in 1947 and 1948, when farm prices were well above the floors, farmers received only about 60 percent of the average city person's income. The farmer feels that he is entitled to a cost-of-living price floor, just as the wage earner is entitled to a minimum wage, and the small businessman to protection against monopoly and unfair competition.

There are two principal objections, however, to carrying out a price-support policy. One is that this device helps the big fellow, who doesn't need it. A farm-price floor helps each producer in exact proportion to his output. If a farmer produces ten times as much as his neighbor, he receives ten times as much benefit. Price supports thus ignore the problem of the marginal and submarginal producer.

There is an even more important weakness in our price-support system. This weakness stems from the fact that farm costs and farm efficiency are constantly changing. For example, the discovery of superior seeds, fertilizer or insecticides can cause the farmer to expand his acreage at the expense of other crops, and makes it possible to flood the market with potatoes. The parity formula, therefore, needs to be kept up to date, so that it is not relatively more profitable to produce one crop than another.

However, modernization of the parity formula is not the main problem. Not a single farm leader or farmer to whom I have talked objected to the section of the Aiken law which modernizes parity. What farmers object to is reducing the price floors to 60 percent. They contend that this bill will cut their net income 50 percent or more. Figures from the Department of Agriculture seem to justify this estimate.

The way farmers feel was illustrated by Obed Wyum, a wheat farmer from North Dakota. "In the western Dakotas and Montana," Wyum explained, "the little wheat farmers will be wiped out. The big fellows can cut labor costs and other expenses, but the small operator's costs are fixed. His standard of living will go down." When asked if it were possible to change over from wheat production to other crops, or livestock production, Wyum replied: "In my section, farmers can convert—that is, if they can get the money and if they don't starve first. It takes years to build a herd."

On the same day, Jim Patton, president of the National Farmers' Union, waved a handful of photostats under the nose of Senator O'Mahoney, at the hearings of the Joint Economic Committee. "Here is what the NAM promised if we'd just get rid of OPA!" Patton stated. "Low prices—plenty of beef, butter, no inflation. . . . Now we have inflation and there is an at-

DRAWING BY CHARLES ALLEN

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tempt to make the farmer the goat. . . . I'm for flexible prices all right, but I don't want to see the farmer flexed through the floor down into the basement."

Speaking to more than a hundred Midwest farmers assembled in the Senate Agricultural Committee room, Glenn Talbott, president of the North Dakota Farmers' Union, called for a new psychology and perspective.

"We were afraid of having too little—now we're afraid of having too much. When you have gold in the bank, you call it a reserve. Why not call a surplus a reserve? Why not put aside a billion bushels of wheat and a billion bushels of corn as a reserve? Then when the drought comes we won't have to kill little pigs because there is no feed for them."

An economist from the Department of Agriculture has estimated that with low market prices a typical wheat farmer would find his income cut 60 percent by the reduction from 90 to 60 percent of parity.

According to another estimate, a corn farmer who netted $2,400 would have only $1,300 left for his family if parity prices were reduced from 90 percent to 75 percent. If a typical rancher's 1947 prices were reduced 30 percent, his income would drop from $4,930 to $1,890. From the standpoint of return per man-hours worked, the Department of Agriculture economist looked at a typical hog and dairy farmer in the corn belt earning a wage of 93 cents per hour after expenses, taxes, interest, etc. If 1947 prices were cut 30 percent, the same farmer could pay himself only 38 cents per hour.

The reason for these disproportionate income declines is that some farm costs tend to remain fixed. When the price floor is lowered, farm income falls in a geometrical ratio. Although farm-price disinflation is supposed to be healthy, the individual farmer cannot be expected to feel pleased at having his income lopped in half. Neither do farmers find much consolation in the advice of economists who blandly tell them to convert to livestock.

Farmers also question whether the Aiken law will do what it is supposed to do, that is, reduce production of surplus commodities and encourage production of commodities in short supply. When prices fall, wheat farmers say they increase production in order to compensate for the decline in farm receipts. They point to the big wheat crop expected this year after prices hit the toboggan in 1948. Lowering prices, they claim, won't do the trick. It will only accentuate the trend toward concentration of land ownership in a few hands and the elimination of the small growers.

People I have talked to believe that this problem of so-called over-production can be partially solved by a system of incentive supports such as were used during the war. Flax was desperately needed, so the government arbitrarily raised its price floor until the required production was secured. When the war was over, the government took away this high support so that marginal producers went out of the business. But the point is that the government did not lower support below the 90-percent level. This type of support could be used to stimulate the production of beef and milk, and while it need not result in any expense to the government, it would stabilize conditions so that livestock and dairy farmers would know what to expect.

An idea now being discussed by farmers is that of graduated supports. Farm leaders I have talked with say we have graduation in everything else—why not in a price-support program? Why give, they ask, the big grower with 50,000 acres of cotton a support price at all? Or, why not limit support to 70 percent or less, except for that part of the crop which economists say is sufficient to provide a minimum living for a farm family? Economists estimate that about 70 percent of commercial production is on family-type farms.

It is obvious that lending a cotton farmer full parity, for example, on the first 20 bales produced and nothing on a lesser amount or on the remainder would discourage the big grower. And it would not cost the government anything, unless it depressed the market price below the support price. Such a system might be objected to on the ground that many farmers raise several crops, which would make the plan difficult to administer. But similar complications in other programs have not proved insurmountable.

The livelihood of 27 million people is dependent to some extent on working out a plan that will check the trend toward monopoly. I submit that the graduated-price proposal is worth serious consideration. Perhaps it is time for the government to give more than lip-service to the family-type farm. It is supposed to be one of our ideals. I've been hearing about it all my life—I've lived with it and on it and by it, and I've found it good. Furthermore, I think it is efficient; it's efficient because it is good for the land. It's efficient because it's good for the people—and it's efficient from the production standpoint when credit, land and machinery are made available.

We should enact legislation that will enable rank-and-file farmers to make a good living not only for the sake of the land, which is a destructible and irreplaceable natural resource, and not only for the sake of the 5.5 million farm families, but for the sake of everybody. The city dweller is mistaken if he thinks he can cut the farmer's standard of living 50 percent and keep his own prosperity for long.

Although farmers are in the minority, cutting farm income in half would automatically throw several million industrial workers out of work. It would ruin many small businesses. It would cause a spiral of deflation which would ultimately bring about a general depression. According to Leon Keyserling, the price of such a depression would be $800 billion.

And finally, let's be thinking of really doing something about an economy of abundance. Our population—the world population, even the farm population—exists on a standard of living far below 100 percent. Let's flex it up, not down.

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CONQUERING THE WORST OF ALL DISEASES

by Bruce Bliven

HIGH IN THE MOUNTAINS of northern Greece lay the guerrilla outpost, skillfully hidden among the rocks and low shrubs. On this sunny autumnal day, the sound of an airplane was heard in the distance, and the anti-aircraft gun was hastily prepared for action. Then as the plane came nearer, the commander of the post shouted an order.

"Don't shoot!" he yelled. "It's the plane that kills the mosquitoes!"

He was right. The plane which then passed by unmolested was engaged on the humanitarian mission of spraying DDT over malaria-infested areas and thus cutting down the incidence of that disease. Day after day, the guerrillas let it go over unharmed, the solitary bit of coöperation between government and rebel forces, so far as I know, in the history of the civil war.

That incident was only part of a bigger story which seems to me of tremendous significance—the world-wide fight against malaria, in which the World Health Organization of the United Nations and the Rockefeller Foundation are the chief participants.

Already, this campaign has, for all practical purposes, wiped out malaria, the greatest single curse by which humanity is afflicted, over many thousands of square miles, on numerous islands and on several continents. It is so spectacularly successful that even this early it has had results of great economic significance, to say nothing of the human suffering that has been prevented. Many millions of acres of tropical land, the most fertile that exists, much of it producing four or five crops annually, are being made available for the first time in a world which needs all the additional food supply it can get. Millions of people will escape the dreaded malarial infestation. Millions more will be cured, or have their symptoms suppressed.

If you live in the temperate zone you may be surprised by the statement that malaria is the worst of all human scourges; but those who know most about it will be the first to agree this is true. Not only does it kill three million people a year, but 300 million fresh victims are infected every twelve months, in a broad equatorial zone around the earth. At a recent meeting of health experts from all the Eastern Mediterranean countries, plus Iraq and Pakistan, it was agreed that in many places in this part of the world, malaria is by far the most serious of all afflictions, ranking ahead of bilharzia, hookworm, tuberculosis and venereal disease. In Pakistan, there are 25 million cases a year in a population of 80 million. In certain parts of Iraq and Lebanon, 80 percent of the people have it at any given time.

The disease, with its almost constantly recurring relapses, may continue for many years, and may do so even though the symptoms disappear for long periods. Blood donors, after having been free of all indications of the disease for 30 to 40 years, have been known to give malaria to persons receiving transfusions from them.

During his successive attacks, the malaria sufferer has alternating chills and fever, complete prostration and utter misery. If it goes on long enough, his physical stamina and his intelligence and ambition are permanently impaired. He can subsequently be re-infected with the same or differing types of malaria and can then become almost completely helpless. (Some scientists believe that it was malaria which brought the downfall of ancient Greece and Rome.) The sluggishness, inertia and seeming low intelligence of so many people in the tropics is not because of Nordic superiority, as Hitler and his friends in numerous countries have believed, but is due to the simple fact that malaria is endemic in the tropics and does not exist at all in the colder parts of the temperate zone.

The malaria infection is caused by the bite of the female of one or another of various types of anopheles mosquito. She carries an organism, plasmodium, which incubates inside the human body for ten or twelve days, probably in the liver or spleen, and then gets inside the red blood cells. Every couple of weeks or so, these parasites, which multiply by division, break out of the original corpuscles and enter new ones, where the cycle is repeated. While the parasites are in the cells, the patient has fever; after they break out he has chills.

In 1930 a dangerous malaria-carrying mosquito—anopheles gambiae—a native of Africa, found its way to northeastern Brazil, being almost certainly transported by one of the fast mail steamers plying between Dakar in West Africa and Natal in Brazil. The invader, not previously seen in the Western Hemisphere, caused epidemics of malaria in Natal in 1931 and 1932 of a severity unparalleled in that area. For the next five years the disease was quiescent, but in 1937 and 1938 came really terrifying epidemics in northeastern Brazil. During those two years there were 100,000 cases and 15,000 to 20,000 deaths. Whole families were prostrated so that there was no one to cook their meals or care for them, no one to go and buy medicine, even if they had the money, and supplies had been available, neither of which conditions usually existed. Said a local newspaper at the time:

> The human language is far from adequate to describe the desolation which existed in the region, in which suffering, tears and mourning spread their lugubrious mantle over thousands of graves. The general belief was that the northeast would be depopulated because those who did not die at once would abandon it.

Dr. M. A. Barber, a famous authority on malaria, writing before the invasion had been brought under control, took a serious view of its possibilities:

> There is no doubt that this invasion of gambiae threatens the Americas with a catastrophe in comparison with which ordinary pestilence, conflagration or even war are but small and temporary

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calamities. Gambiae literally enters into the very veins of a country and may remain to plague it for centuries.

With the assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation an anti-gambiae campaign was organized in northeastern Brazil in 1939, with Paris green and pyrethrum as its weapons, and in less than two years the mosquito had been eradicated from the known infested area.

One of the most wonderful things that ever happened in the fight against malaria was the development, a few years ago, of DDT, after the formula had lain unnoticed for decades in the files of a Swiss laboratory. DDT is deadly to mosquitoes and their larvae, as it is to so many other insects. It has the enormous advantage that it has a residual effect: after a thorough spraying, any region, if not mosquito-free, has the number greatly reduced for some time, perhaps as long as six months. While other materials are used in the anti-mosquito campaign, including petroleum, pyrethrum, Paris green and benzene hexachloride, DDT is on the whole the best single chemical. The liquid is sprayed from airplanes, or from moving vehicles or boats. Hand sprays are also used extensively, in and around houses, which as far as possible are then screened so as to be mosquito-proof.

While chemical sprays are a valuable tool in the fight against the mosquito, they are of course not the only one. Drainage of low-lying areas where the mosquito can breed is of value. So is any large-scale activity which can upset the life habits of the insect.

Among these one of the most ingenious has been developed by the Tennessee Valley Authority, where malaria was formerly an extremely serious problem. While various types of mosquitoes have various breeding habits, the one prevalent in the Tennessee Valley lays its eggs on plants growing in clean, non-stagnant water, and just at the surface level. The system of dams in the Tennessee Valley permits the engineers to raise or lower the water level at will in streams and lakes throughout the whole region. They know the season at which the female mosquito lays her eggs and they wait until she has done so; then the engineers reduce the water level four or five inches. The mosquito, if she is persistent, climbs down to the new level and lays another lot of eggs; whereupon the engineers raise the level higher than it was in the first place, drowning out both sets of larvae. The mosquito thereupon has a nervous breakdown and gives up. Through these and other measures, the incidence of malaria in the Tennessee Valley has dropped from a very serious level almost to zero.

A question often asked is whether such measures as widespread spraying for mosquitoes will not upset "the balance of nature." Students of ecology know that cutting down one species, which serves as food for another species, may have far-reaching effects. Kill the insects, for example, and you may be harming the birds and the fish whose food they are; fruit crops have been badly damaged by injury to the bees which pollinate them. The experts are not quite certain of the final effect of killing off the mosquitoes from areas used by mankind; but they are pretty sure that it is a good thing to do. In any case, there will always be such enormous wild areas left untouched that the ecological balance will tend to restore itself.

The worldwide campaign against malaria is further being aided by several remarkable new drugs which either cure or prevent the disease in human beings. As everyone knows, for 300 years the only treatment for the sufferer was quinine, made from the bark of the cinchona tree. Originally native to South America, this tree had been transplanted many decades ago to the East Indies; when the Second World War began, the Japanese overran the cinchona area and brought about a grave shortage of quinine for the citizens of the Allied powers. Luckily, shortly before that time an effective synthetic anti-malaria drug, atabrin, had been produced.

Since that time, a number of other anti-malarials have been developed—chloroquine, paludrine, plasmoquine and pentaquine. The two most important are probably chloroquine and paludrine. All of them do one or more of three things: prevent malaria, cure it, or mask the symptoms.

The experts are agreed that it is better to put an end to malaria by killing off the mosquitoes than to try to prevent or cure cases by feeding chemicals to human beings. Hence the series of large-scale demonstrations that are now going on in all parts of the world. Two things are involved. The first is to wipe out as many mosquitoes as possible. The second is to educate the people of the region to take and continue sanitary precautions. Among savage or semi-savage peoples this is hard to do. It is difficult to persuade them that there is a relation between mosquitoes and illness. Also, they consider mosquito screens as not only extremely expensive, but as interfering with the healthful circulation of air into a house, which is so much freer through a nice, unscreened window.

After long experimentation with every propaganda technique, the field workers have decided that about the best is a motion-picture film, provided it has been taken in some nearby region, so that the individuals on the screen seem similar to the people in the audience. Night after night, in a hundred forest glades in many parts of the world, a big silent mass of half-naked "local inhabitants" squats on its haunches while a white man, cranking a kerosene-powered 16-millimeter projector, throws up on a small portable screen, in the universal language of the movies, the lesson of anopheles.

Model campaigns against malaria are those now in progress in the Mediterranean islands, Cyprus and Sardinia. In Cyprus, as reported by Sam Brewer in a recent dispatch from Nicosia, to the New York *Times*, the entire population has been enlisted. The island was divided into eight-mile areas, and each area was made the responsibility of one team. Every house has been sprayed, every cave, every hollow tree. Every airplane and ship is sprayed on arrival unless it carries a certificate

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that this action has already been taken since it last left a malarial district. Enthusiastic Cyprians, wearing heavy boots to guard them against the vipers with which the island is overrun, have even been swung down over cliffs in slings, in order to get at remote pools.

The results of this campaign have been amazing. The first year, the number of cases fell from 2,000 to 50, and the second year from 50 to 3. The rate of infection among school children has dropped from 40 percent to 1.3. All this has been done at a total cost of only about $1 million.

Similar results are being attained in Sardinia, where the campaign has been conducted by the Rockefeller Foundation. The two islands are running a race, and the one which first frees itself completely of malaria will get from the other a gift of 100 liters of wine.

The campaign in Greece was first conducted by UNRRA and was then taken over by the Interim Commission of the World Health Organization. Malaria, which formerly affected a million people per year in Greece, is now of no importance, in the areas where the sprays have been used.

Nowhere have the results of anti-malaria work been more striking than in Brazil. In some towns along the banks of the Amazon, four out of five people used to have malaria, with the result that no agricultural work was done, and precious little of any kind. Today, towns where the anti-malarial campaign has been carried on are almost completely free of anopheles.

Governments, around the world, have been quick to grasp the economic value of anti-malaria work. In Egypt, for example, the cost of spraying with DDT can be brought down to 15 cents in US money per person per year. This should be set over against more than $2 per person per year that is now lost through malaria, in wages and in fees to doctors or, more probably, to quacks who do nothing for the patient. For India alone, this loss is nearly $1 billion a year; and $1 billion per year would be more than enough to wipe out malaria throughout the world. It sounds like a good business proposition.

SMALL KOREA IS A BIG TEST

As in Greece, the solution can be found only in an end to strife and the beginning of broad and genuine reform

by J. P. Brinton III

WITHDRAWAL of the US and Soviet occupation armies from Korea has not ended the cold war they started there. South of the 38th Parallel, several hundred US State Department and Army advisers have stayed behind to help the anti-Communist Daihan Republic, and to train its 50,000 Korean soldiers. In the former Soviet zone, north Korean Communists have founded an equally formidable army and a People's Republic that claims jurisdiction over the entire country.

Aside from the threat of warfare between north and south, Koreans are disturbed by the persistence of underground violence in the southern half. Constantly, since Korea's liberation from Japanese rule, Communist agents have led discontented southerners in attacks on the police, student strikes, hand-bill protests, labor walkouts, riots, sabotage, and guerrilla war. This campaign reached a bloody climax last October when 4,000 rebel soldiers ran amuck near Sunchon. Twelve hundred Koreans were killed, according to the Seoul *Times*. Within a month, fresh outbreaks were reported at Kurye, Mt. Chirri, Taegu, Cheju, and Mt. Otai, the last scarcely 50 miles from the capital.

Despite these disturbances, and frequent clashes across the 38th Parallel, General Kim Il Sung and his north Korean advisers have not intervened. Rather than use their army, which would have to combat Americans, they rely on economic weapons to defeat the south. Korea's vital industrial resources, especially iron, wood pulp, chemicals, steel, bituminous coal and hydroelectric power, lie in the north. For three years, the Communists have hoarded them there, exporting nothing to the south except an essential minimum of electricity.

Last May 14, as the partition of Korea became inevitable, they stopped even this trickle, leaving southern consumers with barely 75,000 kilowatts of a needed 200,000. The south's handful of industries, already cut to 40 percent of prewar production, curtailed their schedules another 50 percent. Metal refining slowed to five percent of capacity; graphite mining dwindled to less than one-quarter the 1944 level; textiles output fell below 30 percent of totals for 1941. The only manufactured goods remaining near normal supply are consumer items like matches, rubber products, electrical hardware, and paper. The principal exports—dried cuttlefish, seaweed, isinglass, agar-agar and ginseng—attract little assistance from foreign capital.

Besides the critical shortage of electricity, south Korea's government lacks chemical fertilizer for the 75 percent

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of its citizens engaged in agriculture. Cut off from north Korea's fertilizer plants, southern farmers now depend completely on ECA shipments, which will total a record 659,000 metric tons this year. Southern food consumers pose the further problem of distributing the all-important rice crop to the cities. Formerly, AMG enforced a grain-collection program, and still needed to import 350,000 metric tons of food a year, an extra 40 percent. Now, in view of the black market, relaxed grain-collection procedures and a two-month delay in last fall's campaign, Koreans fear a collapse in rationing.

Among the people, such fears are aggravated by a bitter dispute within their new south Korean administration. After his election last July, elderly President Syngman Rhee appointed to the cabinet his own Western-educated friends, ignoring the political machine that raised him to power. In retaliation, National Assembly members sabotaged presidential appointments, called Rhee "dictator-like," and ultimately attributed the Sunchon revolt to cabinet ineptitude. Faced with impeachment by his own extreme rightist camp, Rhee cried, "The government is attacked outwardly by the Communists and inwardly by the government." None the less, he avoided a showdown, passed the Assembly's emergency measures and promised some changes in the cabinet.

Almost as worried as Rhee are his American supporters in Washington and Seoul. In inaugurating the present Korean policy, even though it contradicted their attitude toward neighboring China, they hoped southerners would form a strong coalition government led by a moderate leader. As carried out last May, popular elections frustrated any such possibility. First, the three pro-Communist parties, driven underground by police in 1947, announced that it would be impossible for them to campaign. One by one, six other major parties of Left, Right and Center joined the boycott, protesting that separate southern elections would permanently divide their 4,000-year-old nation. The two most likely opponents to Rhee, rightist Kim Koo and scholar Kimm Kiu Sic, eliminated themselves after Kim was hailed into a US Army court and Kimm was charged with taking a bribe from Korean brothel-owners.

By default, the two pro-Rhee parties took over the election that followed. To make sure that few voters joined the abstainees, they organized local block-association (w a r d) officials, youth-group members and policemen in a door-to-door campaign advising citizens to register. This advice, coming from the same men who distribute the rice ration, produced on election day a remarkable turnout of 75 percent of the electorate. For the convenience of the eight in ten Koreans who have never been to school, polling places

SYNGMAN RHEE

DRAWINGS BY AMY KASAI

displayed pictures of the candidates and permitted voters to sign with their "X." More than 200 Americans and United Nations observers stood by, to ascertain that votes were marked in secret—as they were in most cases—and to certify the "free" choice of right-wing candidates.

While Rhee and his backers formulated their Daihan government, the abstainees tried vainly to create a united opposition. On April 30, in an unprecedented meeting at Pyongyang, seat of north Korea's administration, they agreed on holding nationwide elections after the withdrawal of foreign troops. But this accord broke when north Koreans decided to hold separate elections of their own on August 25.

Kimm Kiu Sic and Ahn Chai Hong, the top-ranking Koreans in AMG, abruptly announced their retirement to private life. Old Kim Koo, denouncing Rhee and the Communists alike, suddenly found himself practically without party support. Socialist spokesman Lyuh Woon Hong, twice imprisoned and released, emerged to find his organization also disintegrat-

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ing. Rank-and-file members either abandoned politics completely or enrolled in a Communist plan for underground elections. During August, in spite of south Korean police, leftists circulated a large number of petition-type ballots, and these reportedly won for southern representatives 360 of the 572 seats in the North Korean People's Council.

The Sunchon riots followed, marked by the abortive establishment of several pro-north Korean "Communes" and American charges that "Communist puppets" were solely responsible. As in the past, the Red-menace analysis did not entirely coincide with Korean reactions. In the case of Sunchon, government investigators reported that beneath the work of northern agitators seethed a more important cause, the vicious rivalry between Korean GI's and Korean policemen. Similarly, in the luring of conservative politicians like Kim Koo and Kimm Kiu Sic to the Pyongyang conference, Communist sympathies played a minor part compared to motives of self-interest, patriotism or disgust with conditions in the south.

Specifically, the disaffected southern politicians complain about the Rhee administration, which they call a strange representation of feudal landlords, police bureaucrats, agents for Korean emigrants in California and Hawaii, youth-group militarists, Westernized educators and wealthy businessmen. According to the critics, the majority of these are Koreans who fear the loss of benefits they gained while "tolerating" 40 years of Japanese conquest. If not "wholly pro-Japanese," they are considered supporters of the status quo, incapable of giving Korea the needed national unity and reform.

The current dissension in Korea mirrors this. In place of a cold war, vast numbers of Koreans have appealed for:

- National affirmation, through abolition of the 38th Parallel barrier and removal of foreign officials.
- Complete land reform to help the 50 percent of the southern peasantry that owns no property.
- Industrial expansion toward Western standards of living.
- State assistance to youth, in the form of scholarships and employment.
- Loosening of traditions that confine Korean women to their homes.
- Final elimination of Korean leaders who associated with the Japanese.
- Freedom from fear of the police, with their Japanese techniques for suppressing newspapers, jailing political opponents and browbeating ordinary citizens.

North Korean Communists, who have adopted strong measures to fulfill the first six of these demands, can command strong sympathy in south Korea as long as reforms there fail to emerge from the planning stage. The police-state aspects of Communism inspire little fear among southern reformers, who are themselves pursued by police. After three years of foreign Military Government and division, they want for their half a country a settlement more permanent than America's $100 million-a-year subsidy, or the United Nations' moral support. They think that in the postwar world their small country makes a big test case, to show what happens when an occupation ends, and what will come after the cold war.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

A GENTLEMAN'S GUIDE TO PROPER WARFARE

by James R. Newman

THE TRAGEDY of the last war, according to Major General J. F. C. Fuller (British Army, retired), was not its ruin and woe but the fact that the conduct of this honorable business has fallen into the hands of cads. The gentleman, "direct descendant of the idealized Christian Knight," has been ousted from control; chivalry has vanished from the battlefield together with the sword, plume and arquebus; tactics and strategy are being supplanted by "pure iron-mongering"; and in place of the art of maneuver enlivened by a suitable amount of bloodshed, there is the twentieth-century "brawl between gangs of industrialized and mechanized cadocrats" who, in striving for plunder, trample under foot the "spiritual and moral values which alone could give their booty worth."

This is one of the three major criticisms pronounced against modern warfare in Fuller's new book (*The Second World War;* Duell, Sloan and Pearce; $5). The other two concern our "asinine" policy of unconditional surrender and the misuse of Allied airpower. General Fuller, who by some strange oversight appears to have been left over from the days of the Plantagenets, is a military commentator and technician of exceptional acuity. His analyses of military campaigns as demonstrated in this and earlier works are distinguished for their coherence, grasp and clarity. A profound student of military history, he brings to his interpretation of field operations a wealth of apt analogies and comparisons drawn from earlier events. He is a foremost expert on tank warfare (he commanded the first tank army in World War I), his manual on this subject having been translated by the Russians and distributed broadside in the Red Army. Also, Fuller writes lucidly and does not hesitate to express opinions, however dissident and unpopular.

There are other things to remember about General Fuller. He treasures a great ragbag of prejudices and has a social outlook that defies caricature; a vigorous, unconcealed contempt for most modern leaders, political and military; a disconcerting tendency to rearrange history so as to support his beliefs; and a painful weakness for quoting the profundities of Karl von Clausewitz. Perhaps I should add that General Fuller does not like the Russians, this being the only issue on which he is in perfect communion with his professional colleagues.

The Second World War, in many respects a brilliant book, is darkened, and in my opinion disgraced, by some of the author's dogmas. In the space of 400 pages it provides a masterly outline of the military events in the West, in Africa, Asia and the Pacific. The descriptions of the great campaigns and of their strategical framework, the examination of the causes of failure and success, the comments on the blunders of generals and the diseases of generalship convey a sense of the whole rarely found in military studies. Fuller the military analyst is as rational and competent as Fuller the political analyst is a preposterous prophet and spokesman of the irrational forces of contemporary society.

He has much to say on the politics of the war and on unconditional surrender. Throughout his account he is an apologist for Germany ("the strength of Hitler's war policy lay in its constructiveness"); a sarcastic critic of America ("In America, the gullibility of the people was exploited by President Roosevelt and the war party"); a defender of Vichy ("It was not the men of Vichy who betrayed France, it was the men of the Popular Front"); and an undisguised antagonist of the USSR ("an even more barbaric despotism" than Nazi tyranny).

For Roosevelt, Churchill, Truman and Eisenhower, Fuller has few kind words. The first three are criticized for their political incompetence, and the last is damned with faint damns as a colorless personality, a "timid strategist" who acted (quoting Ingersoll) more as a "shrewd, intelligent, tactful chairman" than as a resolute commander-in-chief. Of Eisenhower's resolve on one occasion (after the capture of Coutance) "to indulge in an all-out offensive and, if necessary, throw caution to the winds," Fuller dryly observes: "It was certainly high time to do so, seeing that he had absolute command of the air, a personnel superiority of at least two to one, and a tank and gun superiority of about three to one in his favor."

Eisenhower made his gravest mistake, according to Fuller, in seeking the conquest of Germany rather than the occupation of Berlin, for this meant winning the war "strategically" and losing it "politically." But here Eisenhower was the victim of the "idiotic slogan" of his masters (unconditional surrender). What Roosevelt and Churchill never realized (he thinks) was that the object of war is "to change the enemy's mind," not to destroy the population and pulverize cities to the point where those who remained alive had no substance to change their minds about. The dropping of atomic bombs was the crown of a perverse attempt—whatever its intentions—to achieve "political victory for the USSR." (". . . occultly, the war was being fought to stimulate and expand communism.") Not only were the atomic attacks a reversion to a "type of war which would have disgraced Tamerlane," but President Truman's ultimatum of August 6 ("If they [the Japanese] do not now accept our terms they may expect a rain of ruin

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from the air, the like of which has never been seen on this earth") was "equivalent to a gangster saying to his victim, 'Unless you do as I ask, I will shoot up your family'."

Leaving aside some of Fuller's wilder flights, it is certainly true that war, if it can ever be justified, must have a rational, political purpose. I am not prepared to say whether during the last war statesmen as well as generals had lapses of memory or a momentary blurring of vision as regards the basic objectives for which the democracies fought. It is of course nonsense to contend that the primary goal in Europe should have been Berlin and the main aim, once Germany's defeat was inevitable, to stop the Russians. On this point Fuller seems to have our aims confused with those of the Germans, who in fact tried desperately to make a truce with the Allies so as to turn their undivided attention to the East. But Fuller's arguments are less absurd when, on the strength of the US Strategic Bombing Survey Report (*i.e.*, Japan would "in all probability" have surrendered before November 1, 1945, without invasion, atomic bombs or Russian entry), he condemns the decision to use atomic weapons. This has very little to do, it seems to me, with the wisdom of the policy of unconditional surrender—a policy which, incidentally, was never fully carried out and is now being hotly repudiated.

Even greater validity attaches to Fuller's general comments on the political objectives of war when considered in relation to present circumstances. "Should you, when waging war, lack a politically sane and strategically possible aim, you are likely to be thrown back on an insane moral one, such as attempting to eliminate ideas with bullets or political beliefs with bombs. . . . Though the means adopted in gaining sane aims are sometimes atrocious, in the case of insane aims they are always so." Our State and Defense Departments might do as well for themselves memorizing this passage as studying the recondite writings of Messrs. "X" and "Historicus."

The larger part of Fuller's atrabiliar comment is reserved for the air forces; I suspect that in his opinion an air-force general is on a par with a tradesman. Yet one need not vibrate in resonance with Fuller's snobbism to realize that during the last war airpower was often seriously misused.

Take the tactical side. Almost every major aerial attack in Italy directed against towns and villages was, in Fuller's opinion, a hindrance to the Allied advance: an "unnecessary waste of metal" at best; at worst—and all too often—the cause of uncountable deaths among civilians and Allied soldiers. The preliminary bombardment preceding a ground assault resembled in its intensity and fecklessness the prodigious artillery bombulations of World War I. Entire villages were erased (Regalbuto and Randazzo, for example), enormous quantities of rubble were piled up, but the Germans suffered almost no casualties from these attacks, their defensive positions normally being set up a short distance to the rear. The rubble itself served the enemy well; for although it was intended to block his retreat, in fact it blocked our advance. While our men had to "spend hours clearing away the rubble," the Germans took potshots at them from comparatively safe positions outside.

It was not of course tactical airpower as such that was at fault: "Instead it was that the tactics applied by means of tactical air power were asinine, because in these battles of obliteration all that took place was the transference of the psychology of strategic bombing from the enemies' cities to the battlefields." With the German force, as Air Marshal Coningham admitted at the time, "shot out of the air," low-flying attacks with cannon and machine gun would have caused the Germans "incomparably more damage."

The artillery and air bombardment of Cassino was, in Fuller's judgment, of the same insensate kind. After bloody ground battles were fought to a standstill, the blame for not capturing the town was laid on the impregnability of the Abbey. It was decided to flatten the Abbey; the plan, instead of being kept secret, was announced for the benefit of the monks, whereupon they *and* the Germans withdrew. Four hundred and fifty tons of bombs were then dropped upon the Abbey, after which the rubble was reoccupied by the enemy in time for the next assault. This act of "sheer tactical stupidity" was followed by more artillery bombardment and thousands of medium and heavy-bomber sorties. In spite of the terrific pounding, the ground troops at first got almost nowhere: "a sobering shock," Lieutenant General Jacob L. Devers reported. Finally the infantry managed to crawl ahead in the face of intense fire, suffering heavy casualties, but the tanks were unable to give them support, as General Maitland Wilson complained, because of bomb craters 45 feet in diameter. Yet why should either Devers or Wilson or any other experienced ground commander have been surprised? The same sequence of events had taken place, Fuller points out, at Palermo, at Randazzo, at Regalbuto and also at Passchendaele in 1917. Apparently the generals forget nothing and learn nothing.

Similar blunders were repeatedly committed in France. At Caen and St. Lô, vast tonnages of high explosives were dropped in small areas in order to "clear" them for a ground advance. The Germans played their usual obliging part in the quadrille by withdrawing during the bombing and returning to fight after it was over. At Caen, also, US bombers hit our own ammunition dumps seven miles behind the line and plastered Canadian Divisional HQ (which, having been hit by the RAF a few hours earlier, was beginning to get used to this sort of thing) three miles behind the line.

There were any number of other instances (General McNair was a victim of one of them) of the same tragic inaccuracy. Command of the air is of great, perhaps decisive importance, Fuller writes, when used to impede the adversary's movements, and for the most part the Allied air forces provided that advantage. But it is enormously wasteful when it is utilized to

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"accelerate tactical movements by obliteration bombing." Depots, bridges, signals, railway lines—things which cannot be shifted from place to place—are excellent tactical targets, the destruction of which prevents rapid troop movement. Troops themselves, however, are poor targets except for low-flying fast fighters using cannon, rockets, machine guns and fragmentation bombs with proximity fuses.

As for strategic bombing, Fuller rests his denigrations on the findings of the US Strategic Bombing Survey reports, those invaluable documents whose publication must be more bitterly regretted by the Air Forces with each passing day. The familiar conclusions of the survey that strategic bombing (in the form of area raids) was fantastically misused in Europe, and amazingly ineffective until the summer of 1944, that in spite of costly, heroic, large-scale attacks on German industry, output of essential weapons continued to rise; that it was not until raids were pointed at the "sources of industrial and military energy and the means of distribution" that strategic airpower fulfilled its potentialities, are the bases of Fuller's pungent and sweeping strictures.

A similar strategic air policy, characterized by a childish faith in the efficacy of "colossal cracks" (Montgomery's phrase?) was pursued in the Pacific. Apart from all else, the factor of distance made strategic bombing "largely innocuous" up to the spring of 1945. Then followed the tremendous incendiary and high-explosive attacks on Tokyo, Nagoya, Yokohama, Kobe and Osaka. Fifteen thousand sorties, 100,000 tons of bombs, $4 billion spent on the Super Fort organization, 260,000 civilians killed, 412,000 injured, 9,200,000 left homeless, 2,210,000 houses demolished: these are some of the statistics of this prodigious assault. Yet Fuller appears to consider it largely wasteful and unnecessary. Airpower, surface and submarine power in coöperation had so deeply cut into Japanese shipping that the Empire, dependent on imports for the bulk of its war production, already was half-strangled; and (quoting from the Strategic Bombing Survey) with "most of the oil refineries out of oil, the alumina plants out of bauxite, the steel mills lacking in ore and coke, and the munitions plants low in steel and aluminum . . . Japan's economy was in large measure being destroyed twice over, once by cutting off imports, and secondly by air attack." It is somewhat painful to remind ourselves that military planners responsible for some of the blundering have today a large voice in shaping our defense as well as foreign policy.

What was the reason for the strange failure of the Allied Air Forces to bomb the "one operative ethylene dibromide plant in Germany which produced ethyl fluid, 'an indispensable constituent of high-grade aviation gasoline . . . so beneficial that no modern aircraft is operated without it' "? This plant, described by the survey as "highly vulnerable to air attack," was never bombed. Why? Both the V-1's and the more formidable V-2's, which caused thousands of deaths and casualties, were propelled by a fuel of which hydrogen peroxide was a principal ingredient. Yet only two of the ten German plants making this substance were bombed. The great German factory at Bad Lauterberg went unscathed, as did the important plant for hydrazine hydrate (another essential rocket fuel ingredient) at Gersthofen. "All these plants were extremely vulnerable," according to the SBS. Was it merely the incompetence of the high command or was there more to it?

Fuller is at his best in assembling these facts, in asking embarrassing questions, and in premising his analyses and questions upon readily accessible and authoritative reports. It is hard to believe that the same person who explains German bestiality, including the murder of six million Jews in furnaces and gas chambers, as being caused by "overcrowding," and who regards the activities of the Gestapo as the natural retaliation (because the Germans are not an "exceptionally brutal people") for the "brutalities of guerilla warfare" and the fostering of revolt by the partisans, would be capable of a sane, disinterested judgment on any issue.

But General J. F. C. Fuller, I fear, conforms to this paradox. As his thoughts reach back to the days when the military profession was practised on a "pitch'd field" before the "whole art [was] in a manner reduced to money," when courageous princes led valiant troops to conquest and success (or honorable defeat—it hardly mattered) Fuller grows misty-eyed and lyrical. Alas, 1900, "when Lord Roberts cornered General Cronje and his commando at Paardeburg" was the final flicker of the "Last of the Gentlemen's Wars." "Even war is pusillanimously carried on in this degenerate age," Lord Chesterfield wrote to his son in 1757; "quarter is given; towns are taken, and the people spared; even in a storm, a woman can hardly hope for the benefit of a rape." I would not presume to say whether this is precisely the halcyon day whose memory stirs General Fuller. But I am quite certain he is not in sympathy with the old French peasant woman who advised Aristide Briand: "There mustn't be any more war. It disturbs too many people."

ZION COMES HOME

THE BIRTH OF ISRAEL, by Jorge García-Granados (Knopf; $3).
THIS IS ISRAEL, by I. F. Stone (Boni and Gaer; paper, $1.50; cloth, $3).

ON A MOONLIT MIDNIGHT in the summer of 1947, a group of representatives of the United Nations linked their arms with young Jewish fishermen and farmers at Ein Geb and danced a Palestinian folk dance—the Hora. One of the dancers was a laughing, youthful-looking Latin American, Jorge García-Granados, of Guatemala.

Watching him that night, I wondered if there were not something prophetic about this scene. Here was a man determined to learn everything he could about the people whose political future, perhaps whose very life, lay in the hands of the committee he represented. Here was a statesman determined to meet not only the leaders and the spokesmen and the

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dreamers, but the men and women who battled the desert and who carried through the dream. He had been a fighter for freedom himself. He had known persecution and exile and imprisonment, because he believed in the ideals of Woodrow Wilson. He had helped set his own country free and had become the president of its Congress, then its Ambassador to the US, and now UN delegate. García-Granados, I thought, watching him step the lively dance, has the background to understand the Palestine problem.

In the eleven-man United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), there were three Latin Americans, Dr. García-Granados; Dr. Enrique Fabregat, former Minister of Education in Uruguay; and Dr. Arturo García Salazar of Peru, Ambassador to the Vatican. Dr. Salazar soon revealed where he stood: "This is the last time," he told García-Granados, "that you will slap England with my hand." But it was to the two other Latin Americans, as all of us who traveled with UNSCOP soon realized, that the world owed most for turning the spotlight upon British intrigue in Palestine and for making a vote for the Jewish state possible.

Both men recognized the familiar stench of dictatorship the moment the plane alighted at Lydda airport near Tel Aviv. They knew all the sights and sounds and odors of a police state, and they were aghast at the progress in this direction Britain had made. Their senses sharpened, they were able to see through any such committee-member shenanigans as playing a unilateral game or following the British line. With these two passionate watchdogs for justice, the UN committee could never become a pawn in the hands of a Great Power.

How Garcia-Granados, who comes from "a country of sorrow," saw the sorrowful intrigues of imperialism, and how the world's newest nation was blueprinted at Lake Success, is memorably told in *The Birth of Israel*. It is the most valuable document that has yet appeared on the events leading up to the November 29, 1947, decision to create a Jewish state in a partitioned Palestine.

Absorbingly written in terms of human beings who make history, the book describes UNSCOP's journeys through the Holy Land, to the mountains of Lebanon to hear the Arab case, and to the DP camps of Germany and Austria to see some of the 250,000 Jews who were waiting for the world to give them an answer. UNSCOP gave them the answer. It told them they would have a home.

Though I had followed UNSCOP's work closely and traveled with it extensively, I read Dr. García-Granados' account with as much excitement and indignation as if I were hearing the facts for the first time. Doubly effective because he uses the courtesy and restraint of a skilled diplomat, he rips through the power politics, threats, intrigue, pressures, the "cavalier disdain" shown for the committee by British officialdom, Britain's deliberate lack of coöperation, her "determination to go her own way without concern for the United Nations"; the trading, lobbying and compromises; the genuine desire for a solution which led to the majority report in Geneva; and the final struggle at Lake Success, where, with the United States and the Soviet Union shoving the cold war into a closet for the moment and standing together, Israel was born on paper.

Dr. García-Granados tells the whole sordid story of how the United States reversed itself on partition and came out for trusteeship, how Britain did everything possible to create a vacuum in Palestine as she pulled out, and how the Jews filled the vacuum so swiftly that they created order where Britain had hoped to leave chaos. The realities were being created in Israel. The Jews had to spill blood, but they created a state. And to the chagrin of our State Department, President Truman pulled the rug from under their feet and recognized Israel at 6:11 p.m. on May 14. García-Granados writes:

> It was not through the orderly workings of international machinery that the state of Israel came into being. The international machinery failed. As a consequence, the Jews were forced to set up their state by themselves with only the moral authority of the United Nations partition resolution behind them, but with no assistance against armed invasion.
>
> I am sorry, for the sake of the United Nations, that this happened as it did. It would have been a wonderful omen for the future effectiveness of the international community had the United Nations begun its career with so constructive an achievement. Yet, in a sense, I am glad, for the sake of the Jews. As matters worked out, their state did not come to them as a gift; they created it at the price of great struggle, in the same way in which every people throughout history has won freedom.

This Is Israel, by I. F. Stone, makes a fine companion piece for García-Granados' book. Stone takes up the story from the Declaration of Independence on the 14th of May and tells how the Jews won the war against five Arab states and their British friends. In a few short days, the Jews, vastly outnumbered by the Arabs and pitifully unarmed, exploded the myth of an Arab Holy War.

> Israel had proved it could win the war [Stone writes]. Its more difficult task was to win the peace. Its future depended on friendship and commerce with its Arab neighbors, and its wisest looked toward a Middle East Federation in which Jews, Druses, Lebanese, Kurds, and Assyrian Christians could enjoy safety and the satisfaction of their national aspirations in a broader and more stable regional framework, which would protect them from Moslem extremists and imperialist intrigue. Israel's people, like those of all the small Powers, depended also on the strengthening of the United Nations as their own protection against a division of the world into contending groups moving toward common catastrophe. They wanted to be everybody's friend and nobody's tool. The first-born of the United Nations still looked to its parent, though sometimes more in desperation than in hope.

The pictures in *The Birth of Israel* are among the most telling and exciting photographs that have ever been made in the Holy Land. Like a Hollywood production, the book, in big type, credits the writing to I. F. Stone, the preface to Bartley C. Crum, and the photographs to Robert Capa, Jerry

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Cooke and Tim Gidal. Only a small line credits the production to Ben Raeburn, who deserves equal if not top billing for having produced a book which, whatever its contents—and they are good—is a work of art.

In both books it is not the Arabs but the British who emerge as the enemy, defeated first at Lake Success and then on the battlefields of Israel. I do not think either volume will be popular in Westminster. RUTH GRUBER

Ruth Gruber, author of Destination Palestine, covered the landing of the Haganah ship Exodus at Haifa and wrote about the conditions aboard the prison ship that took the refugees back to southern France.

WORTH REPRINTING

EIMI, by E. E. Cummings (William Sloane Associates, Inc.; $5).

IN THE SPRING OF 1931 E. E. Cummings visited Russia and kept a diary which was published several years later, but in a very small (and soon very rare) edition. Reissued now, it should reach the larger audience it deserves.

Arriving in Moscow, he registers (suspiciously, and against his habit) at the "best"—most expensive—hotel. "O plutocracy, O socialism—gird we up our loins: forward, into paradox." And leaving Russia: "What have I seen?—the Moscow theatre, a jail, Lenin's tomb, all sorts of similar things." All duly recorded, for this is a model account of a journey in a strange country, but it's a diary too, and the determinedly personal response to the variety of impressions gives the book its force and direction. For example: he visited Lenin's tomb, certainly: "perhaps the architectural equivalent for 'Boo!—I scared you that time!' "

The book is contained in the title: *Eimi* (Greek for "I am"). Why has he come to Russia? he is asked. As a writer? As a member of what organization? No, "I wish to go as myself." The first-person *experience* of the artist is the unabashed test and damning criticism of "Russia [where] the . . . personal issue does not exist." (In which case it is hard to imagine a more appropriate emissary than Cummings.)

To the blandishments of propaganda his insistent "eimi" is conclusive response. His guide asks him to overlook the numbing results of the complex bureaucracy (for it's the "ideal" that counts, isn't it?). But "Comrade Kum-min-kz" stubbornly returns: "I shouldn't wonder if life is what . . . counts." And of Moscow: " 'I like it here so much' lyrically exclaims [his guide], "have you noticed a peculiar feeling in the air—a tension?'

'Have I!' "

The Soviet, he is told, expresses the will of the people, as compared with the economic slavery of the democracies. To such double talk (who's looking *in* and who's looking *out* through the bars?) he replies: "I'd just as soon be imprisoned in freedom as free in jail."

Seldom, if ever, a direct objection; rather, the sly interrogation, the juxtaposition of contrasts. Thus, the impersonality, the deadening uniformity of a mass is adequately assessed by Cummings' aggressive insistence on the integrity of the individual. But this is only one (and the most explicit) aspect of his argument by irony. The style itself is exactly shaped to his purpose. By dazzling (and occasionally dizzying) linguistic, grammatical and typographical innovations (not unlike the devices of his poetry) he moves nimbly around the ponderous subject and exposes its astonishing humorlessness by his equally astonishing wit.

Needless to say, this is not a "study" of Soviet Russia; it is a reaction from it by one who personifies its very antithesis. Cummings arrives and departs a convinced foreigner. And "a foreigner may be kept out of this earthly paradise, but he can't possibly be kept in." JOHN FARRELLY

MUSIC: The Conductors Play Musical Chairs

AFTER SEVERAL calm years in which few of the American orchestras—except the tempestuous Chicago Symphony—have changed their conductors, the orchestral scene has suddenly gone topsy-turvy.

The most startling change, because it marks the end of the longest association between a conductor and an orchestra since that of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra and the late Frederick Stock, will take place in Boston. In October, Charles Munch, formerly of Strasbourg and Paris, and latterly a peripatetic guest conductor in this country, becomes music director of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, replacing Serge Koussevitzky, who retires this spring at the end of a 25-year period of distinguished service. Koussevitzky will continue to direct the Berkshire Festival and the summer school at Tanglewood, and will make a few guest appearances in Boston next season. But the orchestra's policies will be in the hands of Munch.

Time will tell whether Munch possesses, or can develop, either the magnificent public presence of Koussevitsky or his persuasive idealism. But his musical taste is essentially French, despite his ambiguous Alsatian background, as Koussevitzky's is, despite his Russian origin; and he arrives with a Parisian reputation to guarantee him an initial status mere American success would not have provided in the eyes of Boston.

A short time ago, Bruno Walter resigned as musical adviser (in other words, chief conductor) of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Society, effective next fall. Immediately a chain reaction began. Dimitri Mitropoulos was invited to share with Leopold Stokowski the conductorship of the Philharmonic—which the management rightly considers to be more than a one-man job, in view of the long and crowded season. Mitropoulos asked to be released from the Minneapolis Orchestra, which he had directed for more than a decade. Not too hesitantly, the Minneapolis board agreed to a parting of the ways; dissatisfaction

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over his long absences as guest conductor in New York and his irrepressible campaigning for Henry Wallace throughout the orchestra's last Southern tour counterbalanced the enthusiasm of some Minneapolis people for his capable work with the organization.

To fill the vacant post, Minneapolis seized the Hungarian conductor, Antal Dorati, away from Dallas. After a few weeks' thought, the Dallas Symphony decided to engage Walter Hendl, the 32-year-old assistant conductor of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony, thereby making him, as of next fall, the youngest American-born conductor of a major orchestra. Thus Bruno Walter's decision to take things easier will alter three careers in October, and may make way for the beginning of a fourth, if the Philharmonic continues to use its assistant conductorship as a training ground for a gifted young American.

It is an encouraging sign of the times that native-born musicians are finally beginning to be taken as seriously as their foreign colleagues in the conducting field. Of the 25 major orchestras (with annual budgets of more than $100,000) in the United States, eight will be conducted by Americans next year. Some weeks ago, the National Symphony Orchestra, in Washington, D. C., filled the vacancy left by the resignation of Hans Kindler by raising to the conductorship its American assistant conductor, Howard Mitchell. When the Seattle Symphony Orchestra was reorganized last fall, after internecine warfare that threatened for a while to destroy it utterly, Eugene Linden, of Tacoma, was made conductor. Americans in charge of other major orchestras are Thor Johnson, in Cincinnati; Alfred Wallenstein, in Los Angeles; Saul Caston, in Denver; Victor Alessandro, in Oklahoma City; and Izler Solomon, in Columbus. Leonard Bernstein, perhaps the most gifted of all, still has no permanent position, though he conducted more of the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra's programs this year than anyone else.

These American musicians face

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MAX LERNER
author of ACTIONS AND PASSIONS

A short history of a fateful decade in world history could be summarized for some future TOYNBEE, GIBBON or DURANT by simply listing the five crucial themes and dates that follow:

It Is Later Than You Think	1938
Ideas Are Weapons	1940
Ideas For the Ice Age	1941
The Consequences of the Atom	1945
The Multiple Revolution of Our Time	1948

Actually, these stirring and seminal phrases are all titles of books and essays written during the last ten years by MAX LERNER, whose latest work, *Actions and Passions*, is proudly published this week by THE INNER SANCTUM.

The new book takes its title from a sentence in a Memorial Day speech delivered by JUSTICE OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, JR. in 1884:

"As life is action and passion, it is required of a man that he should share the passion and action of his time, at peril of being judged not to have lived."

Your correspondent believes that for true liberals MAX LERNER is always a "must," and particularly so today, when the passing of *The Star* and the ending of the experiment begun with *The Newspaper PM* finds many "displaced liberals" anxiously seeking a sense of continuity and perspective.

For MAX LERNER, biographer and interpreter of JUSTICE HOLMES, editor of THORSTEN VEBLEN, MACHIAVELLI, ADAM SMITH, and ARISTOTLE, teacher at Harvard, Williams, and Sarah Lawrence, contributor to *The New Republic* and *The Nation*, and formerly managing editor of *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* is, in the opinion of this correspondent and a veritable host of students and readers, the very model of a liberal's liberal.

In *Actions and Passions*, he examines "the multiple revolution of our time," and offers us "a sense of pattern amidst the chaos of vast and malignant forces beyond our control," as well as "a sense of togetherness amidst the moral nihilism."

But in the best liberal tradition, the book is human as well as humane. The author *also* discusses CHARLIE CHAPLIN, the ballet, LEO DUROCHER, the movies and the gifts of the Magi.

For the ten best ten-word definitions of the word "liberal," as used in this tribute to *Actions and Passions*, THE INNER SANCTUM will present ten complimentary copies of the book—all first editions and all inscribed by MAX LERNER.

Definitions submitted for this prize contest should be sent within forty-eight hours directly to the editor of this column, at THE INNER SANCTUM of SIMON AND SCHUSTER.

As a starter, simply to stimulate thought, your correspondent recalls a few older definitions that have had currency in our time: *"A liberal is a radical with a wife and two children"* (discarded by this column as too cynical) . . . *"A liberal is a man who believes in open competition in the market-place of ideas"* . . . *"A liberal is a man who believes that freedom is more than a word"* . . . *"A liberal is a man who believes in persuasion by light rather than by heat"* . . . But your correspondent has promised himself that he will be content to *judge* the contest, not *enter* it. Readers may regard this paragraph, therefore, as an R.S.V.P. in the lower lefthand corner of their *Invitation to Lerner.*

—M.L.S.

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strong competition from abroad, for since the end of the war an incursion of experienced, and in some cases superbly equipped, European musicians has taken place. One of the most challenging is Victor de Sabata, a celebrated Italian conductor who proved to be a spellbinder when he directed the Pittsburgh Symphony briefly last fall. De Sabata will return to conduct the Chicago Symphony for eight weeks (instead of Wilhelm Furtwängler, whose on-and-off engagement for Chicago created almost as great an international furore as *l'affaire Gieseking* in New York) and to make his New York debut as guest conductor of the Philharmonic. Rafael Kubelik, son of Jan Kubelik, a famous Czech violinist of the last generation, will also conduct in Chicago. The orchestra there is establishing a new record of artistic docility by submitting to nine conductors in twenty-eight weeks.

Ernest Ansermet, one of the most poised and most profound musical interpreters in the world, made a deep impression over the past three months, in broadcasts with the NBC Symphony and concerts in Philadelphia, Boston, Dallas and Cleveland. Though he has gone back to Switzerland, where for a quarter of a century he has kept the Orchestre de la Suisse Romande one of Europe's leading musical institutions, he will undoubtedly be back again in the near future. And Guido Cantelli, the 26-year-old protégé of Arturo Toscanini, whose four broadcasts with the NBC Symphony last month were as remarkable for their musicianship as for their vitality, is also likely to cast covetous eyes on a permanent job with an American orchestra. CECIL SMITH

THEATRE: Sins of Clifford Odets

LOGIC MIGHT INSIST that there are three kinds of plays—good, bad, indifferent—but Clifford Odets' "The Big Knife" is none of these. It represents the state of Odets' soul in 1949; it is exasperating and exciting.

As a mechanism for conveying a definite theme, idea or emotion, "The Big Knife" is misbegotten. Charlie Castle, a top movie star and what is loosely termed an idealist, wants to get away from Hollywood, where he has become so valuable to his studio that he is being offered a 14-year contract worth three million dollars. His wife threatens to divorce him if he signs the contract, because she believes Hollywood has spoiled him: he is unfaithful and generally not the good person he was when they married.

But whatever Charlie's feelings in the matter he can't refuse the contract: the studio asserts that, if he does not sign, it will disclose him as the man who killed a child in a hit-and-run accident. Charlie signs. At this point, a girl who was in the car with him and has been bought off with a contract, seems on the verge of implicating both Charlie and the studio. Refusing to resort to further bribery, the executives contemplate murdering the girl. Charlie revolts; he insults the studio boss. But since he won't take the chance of going to jail—which he says would be to act like a character in a Russian novel—and yet feels horror at the mess of his life, he commits suicide. "He killed himself because that was the only way he could live," says a studio observer.

The ostensible point of this is that a good person in our society becomes the prisoner of forces that will manipulate him as a commodity. Unless he is a saint or a revolutionary he can live only by dying. Apart from any judgment as to the validity of this thesis, the play fails to demonstrate it.

The victim here is a good person because his wife says so, and because he speaks Odets' dialogue. The process of Charlie's deterioration is not dramatized. We never see him in a normal state. He has almost no history or background. When we meet him he is already a bad husband, a coward, a near drunkard and generally wrong at the top of his voice. His wife, who speaks for honesty, is actually his accomplice, and otherwise thoroughly vapid. The other characters (except for the writer-friend who doesn't sell out) have more substance as characters, but we are not convinced that the movie moguls, for example, behave with their native shrewdness in handling Charlie.

The theme cannot function within the story as Odets has seen fit to tell it. The story is largely off-stage, so that the theme becomes mostly rhetoric. Since this rhetoric is applied beyond the point of positive action, much of it is as impotent as the philosophic insults that Charlie hurls against his oppressors. But it is for these insults rather than for the story that Odets has written his play. Due to its faulty construction, much sincere feeling is wasted, many lines that might have been pithy are rendered pompous.

How then can the play be exciting? The subjective turmoil within the author blows gusts of passion through the proceedings and so sweeps the stage that story, characters, lines, no matter how incredible they may appear when isolated, shape to a form—tortured, inchoate, frustrated and rousing—the like of which no other American playwright can produce.

The lack of coördination between plot and theme in "The Big Knife" arises from emotional confusion in the author. It may be possible to write a clear play from a confused source, if one is honest about what actually motivates one's characters. Odets never tells the truth about Charlie Castle, which is that he *loves* Hollywood with a vicious zest, and Odets thinks this love sinful. The conflict between appetite—reinforced by society's encouragement of it—and the insistent cry of conscience creates self-loathing and conceit. The self-loathing stems from a desire to punish oneself for one's sin, the conceit from an exalted sense of one's superiority in recognizing the sin and wishing to punish oneself for it. "If I didn't love people so much," Charlie mutters, "oh, how I would hate them."

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But this is Odets speaking, and one is inclined to answer that if he would stop hating himself so much he would find it easier to get closer to himself, to people, to society. He would not then have to burn himself in effigy by having his heroes kill themselves, and he would not have to cry out, like Charlie's wife at the final curtain, "Help! Help!" . . . It is much better to make the world's sorrow one's own than to try to make one's own sorrows the world's.

"The Big Knife" is not a play about Odets—it would have been better if it had been so. It is a play in which Odets' confusion about himself has unsettled the foundation of what it is supposed to be about. That is why it is difficult to praise the flashes of character perception, spiritual energy and virile quest that glint within its texture. "It takes tremendous talent to make even a little genius tolerable."

There are good actors in the production and nearly all of them do well. But Lee Strasberg, who is one of the few artists among our stage directors, has, I feel, belied some of his gifts here, and done the play in an improper vein. The direction is smooth enough in its attempt at a cocktail-hour realism, but Odets' play is best conceived as an allegory, and his writing is essentially poetic. To try to make "The Big Knife" acceptable as a literal image of fashionable reality is to magnify its faults and to denature its virtues. Strasberg, whose forte is a kind of sensitized and purified realism verging on the classic, has sacrificed this quality to make the play more palatable—that is, more ordinary. Fear or distrust of audiences is not confined to Hollywood. HAROLD CLURMAN

MOVIES: Things Are Tough All Over

THE ITALIAN film makers have achieved their successes largely by putting on the screen data gathered directly from the life around them. "The Wandering Jew" suggests that they should continue in this vein and not go borrowing other people's troubles. This attempt to record the torments of the Jews at the hands of the Nazis is unconvincing and, I think, a little cheap.

As its title indicates, the film proposes to trace the footsteps of the Jewish folk hero whose pilgrimage of anguished immortality began at the burning of the Temple and continues down to our own time. The framework of legend is supposed to give the picture overtones of vast significance, but in fact it is dropped early in the proceedings when the story switches to a rich and cynical young Parisian Jew who discovers, in the moment of crisis, that the call of his people is stronger than the security of wealth. The picture then enters a concentration camp for the bulk of its narrative and becomes a shambles of implausibility.

The Italians, to their credit, show no gift for the specialized imagination of Nazi penology, and Goffredo Alessandrini, the director of "The Wandering Jew," falls back on worn symbols to drum up the frightfulness. SS officers and prison guards are homosexuals; a woman gives birth in a packed freight car; a distinguished scientist-prisoner is ordered to perform experiments on the living brains of his colleagues. Unpleasant stuff, but you know all along that as soon as the day's shooting was over everyone left arm in arm for the nearest wineshop.

The events in the camp develop as a sort of chain-gang melodrama, with a bunch of husky prisoners plotting for the moment when they blow up a bridge, jump their guards, seize the guns and make a getaway into the hills. There is also a love story that brings the picture to its end in a secluded pile of hay. In other words, romantic capital has been made out of the ultimate physical horror of our time. And though the moment may be auspicious for celebrating the indomitable spirit of Jewry, it does not war-

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rant turning the experiences of the long exile into a penny dreadful.

The Pierre Fresnay to be seen in "The Devil's Daughter" is a master criminal who gets his comeuppance at the hands of a consumptive village wild girl. He is engaged in a venture of monstrous claptrap and is not to be confused with the distinguished Pierre Fresnay of "Monsieur Vincent." The French ought to stop the practice of carrying hokum to Hollywood.

At one point in "The Love Child" an aging member of Prague's medieval Masters' Guild expresses distaste for his wife's flighty behavior by inviting a Great Dane bitch to dine at his table and pointedly preferring the guest to his spouse. This picture was made by the Czechoslovak State Film Monopoly and may be worth seeing as an example of what can happen under such auspices. It recounts the tragic tale of a beautiful foundling who suffers from the humiliating suspicion that her parents were never properly introduced and seems to teach that people shouldn't be rude to bastards. The flavor is early Fairbanks the elder, with everyone swashbuckling all over the place and looking sweaty in the closeups.

The advertised blandishments of "No Minor Vices" are naughtiness, sparkling originality and delicious humor. Inside the tent, you find a show that is bewildering, embarrassing and sensationally boring. Dana Andrews, Lilli Palmer and Louis Jourdan are engaged in some kind of triangle with psychiatric overtones, and a lobster in a bathtub plays a prominent part. Maybe it took the lead—no one else was claiming it. Lewis Milestone produced and directed this curiosity.

Another picture warranted to be sidesplitting is "The Return of October," and it has at least the merit of letting you in on the joke. Terry Moore, raised around the stables, is under the impression that the spirit of her deceased Uncle Willie (James Gleason) has lodged in the body of an inferior race horse named October. You will note that, despite the title, it is Uncle Willie who is thought to have returned, not October.

Miss Moore's illusion, if it is one, raises some doubt as to her sanity, a doubt strengthened by the published report of a young animal psychiatrist (Glenn Ford) and seized upon by scheming relatives bent on breaking a will. October, or is it Uncle Willie, wins the Derby, Glenn Ford wins Terry Moore and the relatives are laughed out of countenance. Ha, ha.

Those thoughtless readers who envy the movie reviewer the pleasant way he makes a living are urged to follow the ten-hour itinerary outlined here.

ROBERT HATCH

ON THE AIR: Back to School

THE National Broadcasting Company is showing an interest in education by radio, an area too long neglected by the networks. CBS had an excellent "School of the Air" for a number of years. First, the "School" was whittled down, then it was silenced. At the moment, CBS is busy establishing itself as the No. 1 commercial network by making money noises at other people's funnymen. Its offensive has cost NBC almost $7 million in billings, and the network's brass had some explaining to do before getting a vote of confidence from station-affiliate chiefs at a recent harrowing meeting in Chicago.

NBC breathed defiance, promised to lick CBS at its own game, went so far as to indicate a willingness to forget its principles against jackpot programs and the broadcasting of mystery shows before 9:30 p.m. But all the time, circulating among the disgruntled affiliate bosses, there was a quieter, milder man. He represents the net-

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work's left hand. Dreamily he spoke not of sponsored spots that have gone from black to red, but of pastures where ideas might grow. His baby is NBC's "University of the Air."

This man is Sterling Fisher, head of the network's public-affairs and education department. In coöperation with an increasing number of colleges, universities and other educational organizations, he is trying "to excite the listener to study." He is making progress.

Fisher states the problem in these terms:

Network radio has been criticized at various times for the number, quality and time of its educational programs. But the greatest shortcoming has not been in these areas; it has been rather in the lack of provision for the organized and systematic use of broadcasts by listeners. Haphazard, unguided listening alone is hardly educational.

Now, after a trial at the University of Louisville and the active participation of Dr. Harvey C. Webster, associate professor of English, NBC's "University Theatre" is a good deal more than a program with a healthy Sunday afternoon Hooperating. It is a correspondence study course in Anglo-American literature. Students register for the course with the university; they listen to the programs, read the novels dramatized as well as special guidance material prepared by the university; and write reports, which are graded.

The novels for the course are chosen by an advisory committee which consists of Lionel Trilling, Clifton Fadiman, Norman Cousins, Amy Loveman and Dr. Webster. The full-hour Sunday program becomes not only good entertainment but an effort to use radio for systematic education.

Other courses are pegged to NBC's programs of symphonic music, to "Living: 1949" and the "Chicago Round Table." The University of Chicago is offering two courses tied in with NBC's broadcasts, and others are integrated with mail classes conducted by the University of Southern California, Tulsa University, Washington State College, Kansas State Teachers College and the University of the State of New York. Subjects range from music appreciation to politics, literature and economics. Registration fees range from zero to $25. But one experience has been common to all the NBC educational partners: a negligible percentage of enrolled students drops out.

Plans are under way to bring in the coöperation of adult-education specialists from at least a half-dozen other universities. Courses are being planned in mental health and foreign affairs. And the younger listeners are not being overlooked. With the help of the National Education Association and the Boards of Education of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, broadcasting in organized teaching is to be extended as far as it will go.

Not only in radio, but even in television, NBC is seriously doing what it can to give broadcasting the place in education it should have had all these years.

Those of you who are equipped with television might watch your local papers for the early debut of NBC's "Stop, Look and Learn," which will be a video program for the youngsters, broadcast every afternoon, Mondays through Fridays, either at 5 or 5:30 p.m. This will be a series for elementary-school children on literature, geography, music, science and civics.

There are broadcasters around the country who do an excellent job aimed toward school listeners. Among these are WOSU, Columbia (run by Ohio State University), which has been conducting a truly impressive "School of the Air" for twenty years now. Another unusually good, and often unappreciated, job along these lines has been done by WNYE, the FM station of New York City's Board of Education.

Among the commercial broadcasters engaged in educational work by radio, KDKA of Pittsburgh is out in front. In television, new programs for classrooms are being broadcast by WPTZ and WCAU-TV, Philadelphia. But NBC is now the only coast-to-coast outfit working in the field.

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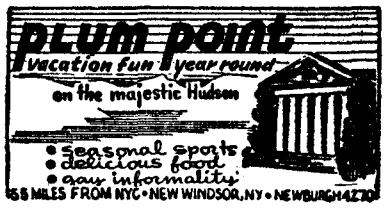
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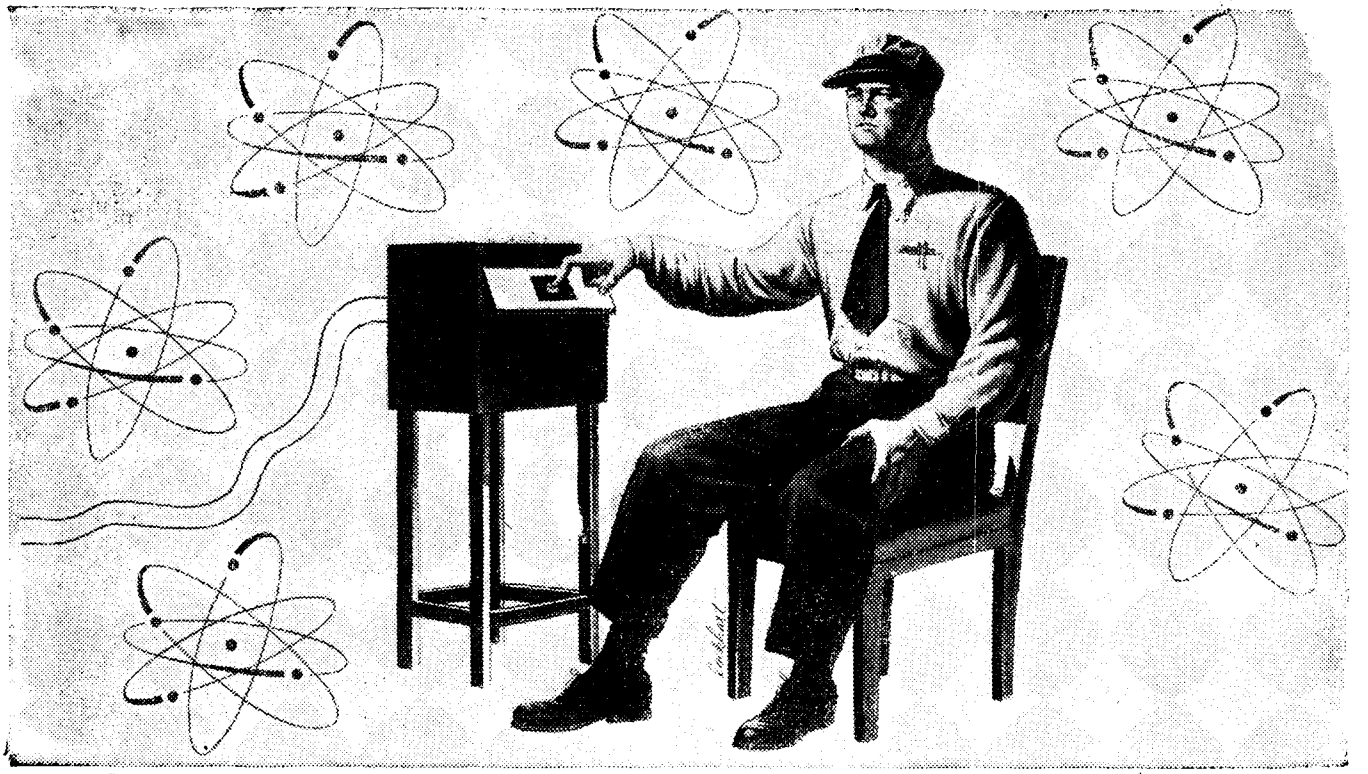

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If you're a coal miner or an oil field worker, for instance, it may sound like a pretty grim prospect. If all they need to run a train or an auto is a pinch of uranium, they don't need coal or oil. And, obviously, they don't need *you*.

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History shows that when we first put the steam engine to work, it threw some people out of a job—temporarily. But it made jobs for many times those people. When the gasoline engine came in, it raised cain with the blacksmiths. But there are more jobs today in one department of one auto plant than there ever were blacksmith jobs in the whole country.

But that's only part of it. Naturally, a man can turn out a lot more goods in a day's work with the help of power than he can without it. So, he becomes more valuable and his wages go up—as history shows they have.

Not only that—but over a period of years the goods he makes are produced more cheaply, so prices can go down—as history shows they have. And the result is that all of us can have *more* goods—more cars, more clothes, more food—by working more efficiently for shorter hours.

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